# READ PERSPECTIVES

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INSIDE:

SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING:
A THEORETICAL BASELINE
FOR POLICY MAKERS
*~ Robert E. Rossier*

BILINGUAL EDUCATION
ADAPTED FROM *REINVENTING THE SCHOOLS: A RADICAL PLAN FOR BOSTON*
*~ Steven F. Wilson*

EDITED BY
*~ Rosalie Pedalino Porter*

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READ is a national research organization which specializes in the support, distribution and promotion of independent research on the acquisition of English-language literacy and on effective schooling for language minority children.

READ provides a forum for research on innovative approaches to second language learning and teaching. This research is of practical and theoretical value to academics, educators, parents, opinion leaders and policy makers.

READ provides expert assistance to school districts and others nationwide to develop and evaluate promising second language teaching programs.

READ publishes an informational newsletter and promotes conferences and other learning opportunities for teachers, scholars and policy makers.

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## Contents

Introduction / Rosalie P. Porter

Second Language Teaching: A Theoretical Baseline for Policy Makers / Robert E. Rossier / 7

- Translation / 8
- Transfer / 11
- Input / 17
- Interaction / 19
- Avoidance Behavior / 24
- Conclusion / 25
- References / 27

Bilingual Education, adapted from *Reinventing the Schools: A Radical Plan For Boston* / Steven F. Wilson / 33

- Transitional Bilingual Education / 34
- Effectiveness of TBE / 36
- Alternatives to TBE / 41
- TBE Enrollment in Boston / 43
- Critique of TBE / 46
- Multiculturalism and the Role of the School / 55
- Choice and Bilingual Education / 58
- LEP Education in Boston Under Choice / 61
- Endnotes / 62

About the Authors / 69

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# INTRODUCTION

With this volume, the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development (READ) initiates a new series of publications. READ PERSPECTIVES will appear twice yearly, reporting on new research and giving wider distribution to published works focusing on educational opportunities for limited-English students in the United States.

At a Yale Law School Symposium on November 29-30, 1990, six federal judges and six educators joined in a discussion on National Values and Community Values: Equal Educational Opportunity for Limited English Proficient Students. As one of the participants in these deliberations, I found the general conclusions that we arrived at to be particularly appropriate to the diversity of our society. In the context of the Symposium, national values relate to rights that should be enforced uniformly throughout the country, while community values are those which should be left to local discretion. For limited-English students, the fundamental national value articulated by the courts is equal educational opportunity, but the courts have not defined, perhaps wisely, how equal opportunity should be implemented by local school districts (Rebell and Murdaugh, 336-337). Several legal decisions have been handed down in the past twenty-five years of federal and state government activity on behalf of language minority children. The key decision may be in the case of *Castaneda v. Pickard* (Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, 1981), which sets forth a clear set of standards for determining whether a school district is taking the requisite "appropriate action" to overcome language barriers to an equal education. The three-pronged test, which has been adopted by the Office of Civil Rights of the U. S. Department of Education, stated simply, addresses these questions:

- Does the school district embrace a theory recognized by experts as sound?
- Does the school district use a program and resources to implement that theory?
- Does the program actually overcome the linguistic barriers to an equal education? (Rebell and Murdaugh, 364-367)

The two essays chosen for the first volume in the READ PERSPECTIVES series contribute to a heightened understanding of these standards and the complex conditions under which school programs are developed and maintained.

Robert E. Rossier's "Second Language Teaching: A Theoretical Baseline for Policy Makers" provides a detailed review of the most current second language teaching approaches and an analysis of the linguistic theories on which they rest. Rossier focuses most carefully on Stephen Krashen's natural language approach, Jim Cummins' transfer hypothesis, and on the common practice of concurrent translation in bilingual classrooms, pointing out the merits and shortcomings of each. He cites for special mention the interaction theory which appears to hold the most promise for effective second language learning.

Rossier's essay cites the research and opinions of many linguistics experts as well as his own views on the important elements to consider in choosing an appropriate theory on which to base special language programs for limited-English students. It provides educators and policy makers with the necessary information on which to base a decision as to which program will best meet the first *Castaneda* standard: choosing a language teaching theory that has the greatest potential for removing the language barrier to equal educational opportunity.

The companion essay by Steven F. Wilson, Special Assistant to Governor Weld of Massachusetts, is a chapter from Wilson's book, *Reinventing the Schools: A Radical Plan for Boston.* Wilson and his staff collected data, visited schools, and interviewed school personnel in preparing this manuscript which was published in 1992 by the Pioneer Institute in Boston.

There are several reasons why the chapter entitled "Bilingual Education" merits publication and broad national distribution by READ. Massachusetts in 1971 was the first state in the U.S. to pass legislation mandating the Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) model for the education of all limited-English proficient (LEP) students. Boston, the largest public school district in the state, has the highest number of LEP students and the longest experience with the application of this program model which has been copied across the country.

There is, unfortunately, an almost total lack of research on Massachusetts' bilingual programs. Still, certain valuable lessons are to be learned from the twenty-two years' experience of the Boston Public Schools. Wilson's report reveals an over-enrollment of students in bilingual classrooms, extended stays in bilingual programs (6-8 years instead of the legally mandated 3 year limit), a

school district whose students are largely segregated by language and ethnicity, and, in spite of substantially higher spending on LEP students, poor school performance and unacceptably high drop out rates.

Wilson provides a fair description of the application of the second and third *Castaneda* standards, provoking this crucial question: If, after providing the necessary resources (higher spending on LEP pupils, trained and certified teachers, bilingual textbooks, etc.) to implement the chosen theory of TBE, the school district has not demonstrated a measurable improvement in the achievement of LEP students in overcoming the language barrier to an equal education, is it not time to reconsider the theory on which the program is based? Wilson offers several suggestions for alternative schools of choice that could be developed in Boston. This call for options was best expressed in a statement by Charles Glenn, Massachusetts Department of Education official, in 1985: "What may be needed above all is flexibility in developing a strategy to meet the educational needs of linguistic minority students . . . . And we will need the flexibility to be able to discuss what is in the best interest of students . . . without making unqualified support for the present system of bilingual instruction the test of good faith . . . . In the long term bilingual education itself can only benefit from taking its place among the freely chosen educational options in a . . . system which respects diversity." (Wilson, 264)

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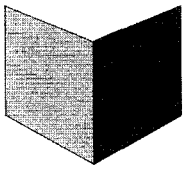
# SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING: A THEORETICAL BASELINE FOR POLICY MAKERS



# Second Language Teaching: A Theoretical Baseline for Policy Makers

Robert E. Rossier, Ph.D.

If we carefully read the leading theorists in the field of second language acquisition and review the educational programs that are actually being provided for limited-English students, it is clear that the wisdom of these linguistic experts is largely ignored. Instead of employing the best accepted theories on second language learning, educators are, in many instances, basing programs on a dubious theoretical foundation that, while ideologically and politically correct, is ineffective in achieving the desired outcomes for Limited-English Proficient (LEP) students: the acquisition of a second language (English) for social and academic purposes and the ability to work unassisted in a classroom with English-speaking peers. Removal of the language barrier to an equal education has been the primary objective of all bilingual education law since 1968.

Theory *is* important. The federal courts have ruled that consideration of the soundness of theory is one of the crucial elements in assessing whether a school system is in compliance with the Equal Education Opportunity Act. The three-pronged test to determine whether a school district is taking appropriate action to overcome language barriers was established in the *Castaneda v. Pickard* decision of the Fifth Circuit Court in Texas in 1981. The three conditions are that the school district is:

1. pursuing a program informed by an educational theory recognized as sound by some experts in the field,
2. actually using programs and practices that effectively implement the educational theory adopted by the school, and
3. evaluating such programs after a sufficient length of time to show results indicating that language barriers are actually being overcome. (Rebell & Murdaugh, 365)

If this were simply a question of "competing theories" each of which had merit in its own right, as Judge D. Lowell Jensen put it in the Berkeley, California, case in federal court (*Teresa P. v. Berkeley School District*, 1988) there would be little reason to discuss this topic. Regrettably, there is little substantiation for the theory which is presented in support of official bilingual education in California and sixteen other states. I refer to the theory behind any teaching method or instructional approach which purports to bring about second language learning (English in this case) by means of instruction given in the first language of the student. Considerable evidence will be presented to demonstrate that this position is untenable.

My purpose in writing this paper, therefore, is to demonstrate that many theorists are in close agreement on crucial aspects of second language learning theory, and that this theoretical consensus contradicts the main premises used by bilingual education advocates to gain respectability for bilingual education programs. This divergence between theory and practice is best illustrated in a critique of the Eastman Model, developed and widely used in California, a program that basically ignores second language acquisition principles. The theories and practices reviewed in detail in this paper are translation, transfer, input and interaction.

It is the professional literature—books and refereed journals—that gives us a true idea of what is accepted as valid theory and what is not. I let the references speak for themselves as much as possible, intentionally keeping my commentary to a minimum. While I have included some lengthy direct quotations, the reader will also find a list of additional references that are useful for those who wish to delve more deeply into a particular topic. The reference list is not exhaustive but is carefully selected to represent the best current thinking in second language learning.

## TRANSLATION

Not theory in the true sense of the word, translation as an instructional method has great credibility with the general public as well as with school teachers, administrators and policy makers, as the key to second language learning. The frequently heard call for more and more bilingual teachers to teach the rapidly growing number of limited-English students is based on the belief that a teacher or classroom aide must be fluent in the student's first language. In other words, language learning is seen merely as a process of translation. That this widely held idea runs counter to much that we know about second language learning is not understood by many

Americans because of their limited experience with a second language. Most can only remember the frustration they felt at not being able to communicate adequately in another language and so they project this feeling on to the situation in which language minority students find themselves in American schools.

Whatever the instructional model authorized in a school district, it is common practice for teachers and aides to use translation—sometimes extensively—with their students. Concurrent translation, in which teachers alternate between English and the native language of the students in giving the lesson, is not uncommon. In a collection of scholarly papers published by the California State Department of Education, Legarreta points out that, "Concurrent translation is used in many bilingual programs today" although, she adds, "it is not very effective." Drawing on the work of Wong Fillmore, who has extensively videotaped bilingual classrooms, she explains that, "It was found that students in the classrooms that used concurrent translation tuned in only to the lesson in their first language and ignored it in the language they did not understand" (95).

Direct translation in the LEP classroom is officially frowned upon by the California State Department of Education, but Legarreta tells us that teachers apparently disregard this admonition: "Although the guidelines specify that direct translation is discouraged, in actual bilingual classrooms, this usually is not the case. Much material is presented in direct translation, with mid-sentence switching of languages, or mid-phrase mixing" (94).

There seems to be some agreement among teachers and aides who work with LEP students that if a teacher is able to use translation occasionally to help students to grasp a difficult concept, she should do so. But the teacher should be very disciplined in doing this and, as Krashen and Terrell tell us, should not make translation the centerpiece of the instructional method.

> The first language can be used improperly as well, in a way that discourages comprehensible input. This occurs when *concurrent translation* is used, a technique in which the teacher speaks a little in one language, then translates what was said into the other language. When this happens, students quite naturally listen to the message in their own language and pay no attention to the English input. In concurrent translation, the teacher does not have to try to make the English input comprehensible by using extralinguistic support (realia, gesture) or paraphrase because a translation is available. (Krashen 1985a, 75)

> Before examining these important speech modification techniques, it should be stressed that translation via the native language of the acquirer is not necessary or even desirable, except perhaps in exceptional circumstances. If the instructor has asked a question or given an instruction that has not been understood, it will be necessary to modify speech, repeating the message in several forms until comprehension is achieved. This modification (often simplification) is what ensures that the acquirer will achieve input at the correct (i+1) level. (Author's note: to make clear the notation i+1, it means that input is slightly beyond comprehensibility.) If instructors resort to translation through native speaker teacher's aides, the input has been transmitted via another medium, i.e., the first language.
>
> If opportunities for "comprehensible input" are lost because of frequent translation, acquisition will be severely retarded. (Terrell, 123-124)

As a result of her analysis of bilingual classroom teaching, Wong Fillmore is even more candid in her criticism of translation:

> Language learning occurs when students try to figure out what their teachers and classmates are saying, when teachers through their efforts to communicate with learners provide them with enough extralingual cues to allow them to figure out what is being said, and when the situation is one that allows learners to make astute guesses at the meaning of the language being used in the lesson. Translations appear to short-circuit this process from two directions. When translations are used, teachers tend not to make the kinds of modifications in English that they might otherwise make. Modifications are made, as noted earlier, in an effort to give learners access to the meanings of messages that speakers want to communicate to them. But since access to meaning is provided in translation, speakers do not regard it as necessary to make any modifications in the English they are using as well. If we assume that these modifications enable learners to figure out what is being said, then the English that is being used in this way is not usable to them as input. But aside from the fact that the English which is translated fails as input because it is not properly adjusted, it also fails because the learners tend to ignore it. When learners can count on getting the information that is being communicated to them in language they already know, the do

> not find it necessary to pay attention when the language they do not understand is being used. Observations in classrooms where this method has been used have shown that children tend to tune out when the language they do not know is being spoken. (Wong Fillmore, 35)

Among themselves, bilinguals often refer to their ability to *think* in their second language. They believe that they finally reach a point at which they are able to attend to the content rather than the form of the message that they wish to communicate; in other words, they realize that they no longer have to translate from the first language. To cross over this linguistic frontier should be the goal of all second language learners just as it should be one of the primary objectives of our schools to help all LEP students to achieve this level of linguistic competence.

While almost no research has been done on this phenomenon, there are a few references to it in the literature. Swain lists several reasons for emphasizing output in language learning and among these, she suggests that the use of productive language (output) ". . . may force the learner to move from semantic to syntactic processing" (1985, 249). In less technical language, semantic processing would be translation and syntactic processing would be thinking in the new language. Omaggio explains this concept in simpler language, "Successful students tend to develop the second language into a separate reference system and to think in it rather than to refer constantly back to the native language" (2).

## TRANSFER

If the experts say that bilingual education teachers should not teach bilingually—that is, they should not use concurrent translation as an instructional method or otherwise translate directly from the students' first to their second language—then what type of instructional program should they use to ensure that their students will make satisfactory academic progress and become proficient in English?

The instructional model that has received more attention than any other in recent years is the Eastman Model after the elementary school in Los Angeles where it was originally developed and field tested. It is sometimes called the Language Separation Approach (LSA). This model, a joint project of the California State Department of Education and the Los Angeles Unified School District, has been intensively promoted by Professor Stephen Krashen of the University of Southern California, the National Association for Bilingual Education, and the California Association for Bilingual

Education, among others. The key instructional element of the project is monolingual instruction in each of the two languages (language separation) which is supposed to promote concept development in the primary language and rapid acquisition in the second language (English).

Limited-English students, in their first year in the Eastman program, are given most of their subject matter instruction, including reading, in their first language—that is, monolingual instruction, no mixing of languages. English language instruction is used only for subjects such as art, music, and physical education—subjects which take a small fraction of the school day—and for special English as a Second Language lessons (ESL) in a sheltered (segregated) setting. In each succeeding year, several subjects previously taught in the native language are taught in sheltered English classes and then, the following year, in mainstream classes. By the fourth year, all subjects are taught in English, except for an enrichment program taught in the first or native language (Krashen 1985).

A large percentage of the instruction during the first two years is conducted in the first language of the students. This is done, according to the experts, so that the students will not fall behind in learning subject matter, i.e., math, science, history, and because what they learn in these classes will transfer to English. First language instruction is therefore supposed to benefit second language acquisition because of *transfer of knowledge.* (Author's emphasis.)

Krashen and Biber explain the process in this way: "When students learn subject matter in the primary language, they gain knowledge, knowledge of the world as well as specific subject matter knowledge. This knowledge in turn makes English input more comprehensible, and thus speeds second language acquisition" (21).

Cummins and Swain are more explicit about the role of transfer: "This is an important point; that developing full proficiency in the first language promotes the same in the second language. What it assumes is that there is an underlying proficiency that is common to both languages. Consider, for example, literacy-related skills. The difficult task is learning to read. Once reading, as a skill and as a knowledge source, has been learned, then it is a relatively simple matter to transfer the skill and knowledge to a second language context" (103).

The particular theorists quoted above deride the commonly held assumption that LEP students require *maximum exposure* to English if they are to succeed academically. It is apparent that they do not understand the LEP situation as being one in which the learning of English is of primary importance. Rather, learning subject matter and literacy skills in the native language take prece-

dence. English language learning will be accomplished by means of the brief lessons given in sheltered classes where opportunities for interaction with native speakers of English are very limited.

And of course, according to Cummins and Swain, the magic of transfer will play the major role in the learning of English for these children. Whether this comes about by means of transfer of knowledge, transfer of skills, language transfer, or all three of these is never clearly stated, but transfer is pivotal in their view:

> The issues revolve around two alternative conceptions of bilingual proficiency which can be termed the separate underlying proficiency (SUP) and common underlying proficiency (CUP) models. The argument that if minority children are deficient in English, then they need instruction in English, not in their $L_1$ (first language), implies: (a) that proficiency in $L_1$ is separate from proficiency in English; (b) that there is a direct relationship between exposure to a language (in home or school) and achievement in that language. (Cummins and Swain, 80)

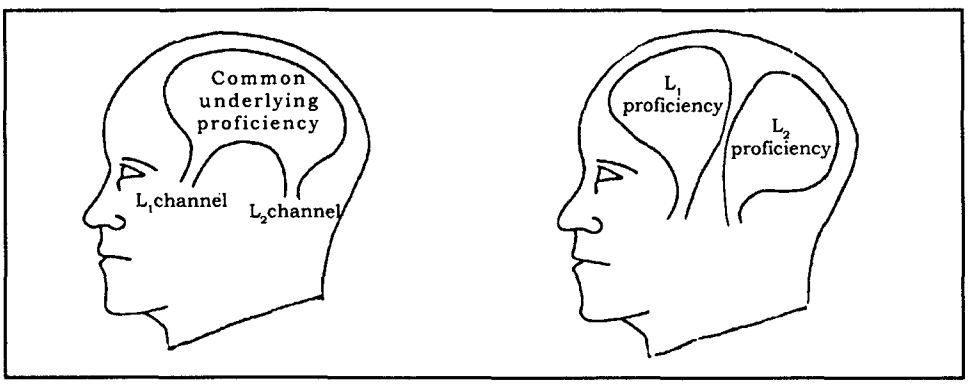



Fig. 1. CUP Model of bilingualism (Cummins and Swain, 83)

Fig. 2. SUP Model of bilingualism (Cummins and Swain, 81)

> The second implication of the SUP model follows from the first, that if $L_1$ and $L_2$ (second language) proficiency are separate, then content and skills learned through $L_1$ cannot transfer to $L_2$ and vice versa. In terms of the balloon metaphor above, blowing into the $L_1$ balloon will succeed in inflating $L_1$ but not $L_2$. When bilingual education is approached with these 'common-sense' assumptions about bilingual proficiency, it is not at all surprising that it appears illogical to argue that one can better inflate the $L_2$ balloon by blowing into the $L_1$ balloon. (Cummins and Swain, 81)

These statements made by prominent theorists bring several points into question. What do we mean by transfer? Are we talking about transfer of knowledge, language, or skills or all three? And finally, can transfer be called a learning theory and, if so, what part does transfer play in the learning of English as a second language?

In recent years, there has been a revival of interest in transfer in second language learning. Besides numerous individual papers on the subject published in professional journals, there have been several collections of articles that have been issued in book form: *Crosslinguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition*, Kellerman and Smith, 1986; *Language Transfer in Language Learning*, Gass and Selinker, 1983; and Terence Odlin's *Language Transfer: Crosslinguistic Influences in Language Learning*, 1989, are some of these (see reference list).

There is general agreement that transfer is an important factor in second language learning, that it can be either positive or negative in nature, and that, according to Odlin, "it occurs in all linguistic subsystems: discourse, semantics, syntax, morphology, phonetics, phonology, and writing systems" (152). It has also been suggested that learner strategies are subject to transfer.

> It is generally recognized by both theoreticians and language teachers that when attempting to communicate in a second language, second language learners often 'transfer' elements of their native language (NL) onto the speech patterns of the target (or second) language (TL). In essence, transfer, a traditional term from the psychology of learning, is considered as the imposition of previously learned patterns onto a new learning situation. (Gass, 69-70)

O'Malley and Chamot in their recent work on learning strategies add these concerns: "Another related issue concerns the applicability of language transfer throughout these stages of learning. Faerch and Kasper (1987) define transfer as the process by which $L_2$ learners activate $L_1$ knowledge in developing or using their interlanguage and point out that the process may either support (positive transfer) or detract (negative transfer) from learning" (148).

The *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* defines transfer as: "(in learning theory) the carrying over of learned behavior from one situation to another" (1985, 297). Language transfer, it follows, is "the effect of one language on the language of the other," and can be either positive or negative. "Negative transfer, also known as interference, is the use of a native-language pattern or rule which leads to an error or inappropriate form in the target language. Positive transfer is transfer which makes learning easier, and may oc-

cur when both the native language and the target language have the same form" (1985, 160).

Language transfer is a possibility, then, according to this definition, if the form of the words or some other linguistic feature is the same or very similar. If these are words that have the same form and meaning, they are cognates. Knowledge of cognates can be useful in second language learning, but cognates make up only a small part of the lexicon and therefore have limited value. Moreover, there are also false cognates, words that are alike or similar in form but which have different meanings.

The above definition of language transfer can also apply to the transfer of language skills. If skills are very similar, there is possible transfer. Cummins and Swain believe that reading skill and the knowledge gained from this reading readily transfer to the second language. If we are talking about the very important decoding skills in Spanish and English, this does not seem to me to be a valid conclusion.

My experience, both with my own children (English-Spanish bilinguals) and with a large number of my Spanish-speaking ESL students, has taught me that the approach to teaching reading in Spanish and the psychology which undergirds it are very different from the teaching of reading in English. This lack of similarity makes it unlikely that there will be any positive transfer from one language to the other.

Because of the extremely high sound-symbol correspondence in Spanish, children learning to read Spanish are taught to rely on a "one symbol-one sound" approach. This is particularly significant with the Spanish vowels: five symbols, five sounds, and these are constant. In English, however, the phonology is different, the correspondence is much lower, and there are more vowel sounds which vary according to stress patterns. There are other differences, too, which add to the conclusion that there would not be much positive transfer between the two languages in decoding but, instead, considerable negative transfer (interference).

We have relatively little knowledge, other than educated speculation, about the transfer of reading skills because there has been little research done in this area. The studies that have been conducted, though, cast some doubt on the claim that reading skills are easily transferred from one language to another, as is described here by Zutell and Allen.

> Although there is a large and growing number of native Spanish-speaking children in U.S. school systems, there has been little basic research examining how these children learn to read and write in Spanish, the similarities and

> differences in reading and writing in Spanish and English, and the cognitive processes and unique problems of bilingual children as they learn to read and write in both languages. (Zutell and Allen, 333)

> It is reasonable to expect that Hispanic children in bilingual school settings use similar strategies but that they will generate unique patterns of errors based on their own pronunciation of English words and on possible interference from their knowledge of Spanish letter-name-sound relationships. Furthermore, since letter-name-sound correspondences are more consistent in Spanish than in English, bilingual speaking/writing children would seem more likely to use a letter-name strategy longer as they learn to spell in both languages. (Zutell and Allen, 334)

> The results of this study clearly indicate that some Spanish-speaking children's English spellings were influenced by the effect of Spanish phonology on their pronunciation of English words. More successful spellers, regardless of grade level, differentiated between Spanish and English systems, so that their English spelling errors showed little Spanish influence. Poorer spellers, on the other hand, often resorted to letter-name strategies. (Zutell and Allen, 338)

In another study in San Diego, California, of Spanish dominant primary school children enrolled in both English-only and Spanish-only reading classes, it was found that, "The tasks and the interactions in the English-only reading classes apparently did not facilitate the transfer of reading skills acquired in the Spanish reading classes" (Moll and Daiz, 10-11).

Transfer of knowledge is, I believe, a different phenomenon. Certain bilinguals, whose level of expression in both languages is high, understand that what they know in one language can be expressed in the other and vice versa—knowledge is held in common storage, available to expression in either language. Those who have worked as translators or interpreters know this to be true—they are able to change expression in one language to sometimes quite different expression in the other without losing the intended meaning.

But transfer of knowledge is entirely different from language transfer and this is where Cummins and Swain have left their track. What they call common underlying proficiency (CUP) should probably be called CUK with K standing for knowledge. They are mistaken also when they claim that it is not possible for an individual to have separate underlying proficiencies in his two languages be-

cause this is precisely the case with accomplished bilinguals—those who use both their languages accurately and extensively. To speak so confidently about knowledge in the first language facilitating comprehensible input in the second when students are given relatively little opportunity to develop the major vehicle for transfer, expressive language, is a non sequitur of the highest order. This easy talk of transfer also overlooks almost completely the effects of negative transfer or interference. The classroom teacher who works daily with LEP students knows that interference—whether phonological, syntactical, or lexical—slows down second language learning.

## INPUT

Young calls input "any stretch of the target language which is available to learners" (122). The *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* provides an equally simple definition: "(in language learning) language which a learner hears or receives and from which he or she can learn" (143).

Some authorities make a distinction between input and intake, noting quite correctly that not all input can be assimilated by the learner. Output is the language produced by the learner at any stage of the development of his second language and will be discussed in the section on interaction.

In order for the learner to be able to learn the second language, she must have input from that language. This is an obvious truism and yet there are many who do not seem to understand that squeezing an orange will not produce grape juice nor will listening to French language radio help one to learn Chinese.

Saville-Troike expresses this idea concisely: "Language is learned in the sense that the child cannot acquire it unless he is in an appropriate environment, and in the sense that he will develop whatever specific variety of language (with regard to pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary) is unique to his social environment. . . . He will learn to speak only the language(s) spoken around him, no matter what his linguistic heritage" (14).

As for the quantity of input (time-on-task) desirable for optimum second language learning, it would seem logical to assume that LEP students should receive as much input as possible in the target language. Cummins, Krashen and others dispute this. Rudolph Troike, one-time director of the Center of Applied Linguistics, even advised the U.S. Congress that ". . . the best bilingual program might well be one in which no English at all was used for the first two years" (5).

In a summation of the papers presented at a 1983 conference on language input held at the University of Michigan, Larson-Freeman found a good number of researchers who agreed on the

importance of maximum English input. "Researchers in the area of input quantity (Rubin, 1975; Seliger, 1977; Bialystok, 1978; Snow and Hoefnagle-Hohle, 1982; Chesterfield, Barrows-Chesterfield, Hayes-Latimer and Chavez, 1983) have entertained the prospect that learners who have the opportunity to use the TL (target language) the most or to receive the most TL input will be those who exhibit the greatest proficiency. Almost all of these researchers adduced evidence in support of the hypothesis (Snow and Hoefnagle-Hohle being the exceptions) with Seliger perhaps making the most explicit statement about input. He found that 'ESL students who generate significantly more English input both inside and outside the classrooms were more proficient than the so called low input generators'" (435).

Undoubtedly the most influential (and the most controversial) theorist today on the role of input in second language acquisition is Stephen Krashen of the University of Southern California. His "input hypothesis" makes "comprehensible input" the prime requisite in the learner's acquisition of the target language. While Krashen's insistence that input must be comprehensible does not at first glance appear to be a highly provocative idea, there is some confusion about his explanation of the hypothesis. There is disagreement, for example, about whether, in fact, input needs to be completely comprehensible and whether it necessarily has to precede output.

Young cites Gregg as finding that: "Krashen's explanation of the Input Hypothesis is in several points rather vague. It is not clear, for example, what Krashen means by the next stage of development for a learner or i+1 in Krashen's notation, nor how one is to define the present stage of development before exposure to comprehensible input, or i, and concrete examples of i and i+1 are notable by their absence from Krashen's writing" (123).

White believes that incomprehensibility, at least in part, is beneficial to the learner. According to Van Patten, "Rather than reject the input hypothesis, she (White) argues that Krashen is incorrect in insisting that input be comprehensible. For White it is often incomprehensible input that leads learners to make correct hypothesis about $L_2$ structure as they literally struggle to make meaning out of an utterance" (160).

Gathercole presents a case for production preceding comprehension and sums up by saying that, "It is not the case that comprehension always precedes production, nor that all learning is systematic and involves rule-governed behavior, nor that communication is always the primary motivating force behind acquisition" (428).

While input is fundamental to second language acquisition, the learner must go beyond the receptive side of language if she is to ever reach proficiency. Ellis has written: "It has been argued that comprehensible input is not simply the result of the speech adjustments of native speakers but the product of interaction involving both the native speaker and the learner. In this interaction the native speaker makes certain formal and discourse adjustments to ensure understanding, while the learner employs certain communication strategies to overcome problems and maximize existing resources" (82).

## INTERACTION

Krashen has persisted in his assertion that the output side of language does not directly cause language acquisition: "The Input Hypothesis also claims that speaking per se does not cause language acquisition. Rather the ability to speak 'emerges' on its own, as a result of language acquisition, as a result of obtaining comprehensible input." He believes, also, that because children sometimes pass through "a silent period lasting as long as several months before they begin to speak a new language," they should not be asked to use productive language until they are ready to do so (1985a, 9).

But Krashen is definitely in a very small minority when he claims primacy for comprehensible input in second language acquisition. A thorough search of the literature leaves no doubt that there is a substantial consensus among theorists that second language learning must be based on interaction, and interaction, of course, brings output or productive language into play.

This difference in belief between Krashen and most other theorists should be of great significance to educators. Krashen, having bound himself to transfer theory, advocates delayed production of the second language and promotes the use of sheltered content classes which contain only limited English students. The interactionists, instead, believe that these students should be grouped with English speakers from the start so that they will be able to interact with them in the target language.

The following selected citations present the case for output and interaction. Although lengthy in some cases, each writer expresses his or her argument so cogently that the reader will find satisfaction in reading them. It should be understood that these make up only a small portion of what has been written on the subject of interaction. Swain and Lapkin state:

> Krashen has argued that what is essential for language acquisition is comprehensible input. Swain has argued that

> what is also needed is a demand for "comprehensible output." By comprehensible output, it is meant that the learner is pushed toward the delivery of a message that is not only conveyed but that is conveyed accurately, coherently, and appropriately . . . . Our claim, then, is that producing the target language may be the trigger that forces the learner to pay attention to the means of expression needed in order to convey his or her intended meaning successfully. (Swain and Lapkin, 156-157)

Wilga Rivers clearly describes the nature of language learners as productive human beings:

> At present we are being told that all that is needed for developing communicative ability in the oral or graphic mode is that students should receive much comprehensible input, without attempts at production for some time, and the rest will follow—structures will appear in an innate natural order and production (ability to express one's own ideas) will develop spontaneously in its own time. This viewpoint warrants careful examination. (Rivers, 1)

> Children and students are not machines to be manipulated in order to find the most efficient way of producing what we may want them to produce. They are interactive human beings. Students, we now know, achieve facility in using a language when their attention is focused on conveying and receiving authentic messages—messages that contain interest to speaker and listener in a situation of importance to both—that is, through interaction. (Rivers, 2)

> Krashen and Terrell maintain that with plenty of comprehensible input the ability to speak (or write) fluently in a second language will come on its own with time. That just one way of using language (namely comprehension) should in some incidental and effortless way lead to a mastery of another (that is, production), which involves quite different processes and requires control of distinctively different aspects of language, seems difficult to support, especially when we observe the effort small children have to devote long after they have attained a high level of comprehension. That this is what takes place in second language learning has yet to be demonstrated. The various experiments with methods that concentrate on comprehension (of aural and written materials) to the exclusion of production until a later stage have failed to show that speech of any complexity does

> emerge effortlessly as promised. Most reports of experiments in this area are found, on examination, to end with the hope that this will be so. (Rivers, 4)
>
> In listening, the syntax may be beyond previous experience, but this does not faze us because we infer meaning or, if necessary, ask for clarification. In speaking, we are in control and with practice in the right strategies we can make a little go a long way. But we must possess that little. Developing language control has never been easy and effortless. Even after years, it is not so in our first language. (Rivers, 5)
>
> These many considerations point to an interactive approach as the most appropriate pedagogical way of developing usable language control—an approach in which comprehension and production retrieve their rightful relationship as an interactive duo in communicative exchanges. We must provide as many opportunities as possible for meaningful interaction as language is being learned and used. Not only will teachers interact with students, but students with fellow students and with the community of speakers of the language (either by going out into the community or by bringing the community into the classroom, actually or vicariously. (Rivers, 6)

Wong Fillmore, who has conducted probably the most thorough ethnographic study of bilingual classroom interaction to date, emphasizes the importance of contact between LEP students and native speakers of English:

> Contrary to the usual assumption that children learn language mainly from peers outside the classroom and not from teachers, it appears that for many limited-English students, the only place in which they come into regular contact with English speakers is at school. Thus, language learning, if it is going to take place at all, is going to have to happen at school. The classroom can be an ideal place to learn English if it allows learners to be in close and continuing contact with teachers and classmates who speak the target language well enough to help in its learning. This of course, depends on the actual availability of classmates who speak English and on their willingness to interact with learners in ways that will help them learn the target language. (Wong Fillmore, 19) . . . we know from studies of both first and second language acquisition that learners need more than mere exposure to the language to be learned. Language learn-

> ing is possible when learners are in frequent enough contact with speakers of the language to develop sets of shared experience and meanings which help them to communicate despite the lack of common language. When speakers interact with learners on a continuing basis, and they have reason to communicate with them, they will find ways of conveying information to them. (Wong Fillmore, 33)

Interaction can take place not only by means of oral communication, but also through reading and writing in the target language. One promising new development in the education of limited-English is called content-based instruction. Chamot and Stewner-Manzanares describe this: "In the content-based approaches, the focus is on the subject matter to be learned and language development is almost incidental to the acquisition of the concepts . . . Experimental evidence for the effectiveness of content approaches comes from immersion studies both in Canada and the United States, and also from experimental studies in which LEP children in a special math and science program increased their English language proficiency as they acquired math and science concepts" (17).

This approach contrasts sharply with the commonly used audio-lingual method which, through oral drills and written exercises, emphasizes the structural aspects of the language to be learned. Snow, Met, and Genesee point out the essential difference in the two approaches: "For young children, cognitive development and language development go hand in hand; language is a tool through which the child comes to understand the world. In first language acquisition, these processes are paired naturally. For children who are $L_2$ learners, however, traditional methods for teaching second/foreign language often dissociate language learning from cognitive or academic development. In contrast, an integrated approach brings these domains together in instruction" (201-2).

The integration of language and content teaching can have both motivational and cognitive value: "Content provides a primary motivational incentive for language learning insofar as it is interesting and of some value to the learner and therefore worth learning. Language then will be learned because it provides access to content and language learning may even become incidental to learning about content . . . Content also provides a cognitive basis for language learning in that it provides real meaning that is an inherent feature of naturalistic language learning. Meaning provides conceptual or cognitive hangers on which language functions and structures can be hung" (Snow, Met and Genesee, 202).

Much of the work that has been done on content-based instruction stems from the Canadian immersion programs in which this instruction usually takes place in sheltered settings. Krashen has written about sheltering and is a strong advocate of this type of instruction for second language learners.

The advantage of teaching content in sheltered English classes is obvious. Limited-English students are grouped together in classes without native English speakers so that the teacher will be able to adapt the presentation of the content to the needs of these students. In doing so, however, the value of the student language interaction in the classroom is lost. But content-based instruction can be carried out in an integrated setting in which limited-English students can interact linguistically with English speaking classmates. Rivers has spoken for this type of instruction in passages which appear earlier in this section.

Milk also advocates the merging of content teaching with a "learner-centered organization of the classroom, whereby instruction is accomplished in large measure through student-student interaction." This interaction, as much as possible, would involve fluent English speakers and limited-English students. He lists two elements as being "critical for conceptualizing an integrative language development approach in bilingual education: (1) the integration of second language development into regular content area instruction and (2) the creation of classroom conditions which will enable pupils to receive the kind of input in the second language that will stimulate acquisition" (662-3). The input created by the classroom conditions referred to by Milk comes, of course, from the presence of native English speakers working with limited-English students in the classroom.

How is content taught in English to students who still have not mastered the language? Wong Filmore describes successful content teaching practice:

> There was, in the lessons we observed in these classes, an emphasis on communicating directly in English as much as what was to be learned by the students as possible. By making careful modifications in the content itself, by adjusting the language used in many ways that have been described as characteristic of the language used with language learners, by carefully tailoring the language used according to feedback provided by the learners themselves as to whether or not they comprehend what is being said, the teachers in the successful classes made it possible for students to get something out of each lesson, even at the earli-

> est stages of language learning. A point to be made here is that in the lessons we observed, the language being used was in the service of communicating subject matter to the students. It was, therefore, quite different from the language that gets used in, say, typical ESL lessons where the language is used strictly for practice. (37)

## AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOR

Although language learning is a highly individual process, relatively little attention has been paid to the role that psychological variables play in second language acquisition. One of the most important of these variables—avoidance behavior—is seldom explicitly mentioned in the literature although certain examples of its effects are occasionally reported without being identified as avoidance.

Legarreta, for example, tells of Wong Fillmore's research in videotaping Spanish and Chinese bilingual classrooms. In a classroom in which concurrent translation was used, she states that Wong Fillmore and associates noticed that Spanish-speaking students tuned out the English portion of their bilingual lesson: ". . . the students apparently learn to ignore the language they do not understand" (95). This is a very clear case of avoidance behavior—something that Legarreta and Wong Fillmore apparently failed to realize—and is very common in language learning, both with receptive and productive language.

In psychology, avoidance and approach behaviors are seen as opposite ends of a single scale (Coleman, 1969). Avoidance is defined as: "Ambient behavior, or withdrawal, liable to increase distance between the subject and a goal (a physical object, a social partner or a situation). . . . Avoidance can be a learned reaction to specific situations. . . . It is displayed in the motor phenomena of flight (escape) and defense, but it is also interpreted as an inner ego-protective process (Freud), as an inner process for removal of possibly threatening cognitive patterns (Lazarus), of specially tabooed words, etc. (perceptual defense, subliminal perception), and for protection against painful and persistent stimulation (J.M. Sokolov). Avoidance in thinking and perception is usually known as defense or defensive behavior" (Eysenck, Arnold, and Meili, 110).

Foss and Reitzal view what is called communicative anxiety and then by extension, foreign language anxiety, as causing avoidance behavior: "Communication anxiety is the abnormally high and debilitating level of fear associated with real or anticipated communication with one or more persons. . . . Foreign language anxiety seems to share certain characteristics with communication anxi-

ety, for example, high feelings of self-consciousness, fear of making mistakes, and a desire to be perfect when speaking. . . . . Furthermore, foreign language anxiety entails a risk to self beyond that experienced by a native speaker because the speaker knows that he or she cannot present the self fully in the new language" (438).

Foss and Reitzal refer to a relational competence model of Spitzberg and Cupach which includes five fundamental components or processes, one of which is *motivation*: "Motivation is the foundation of the model, since it means the difference between communicating and not communicating. By motivation, Spitzberg and Cupach mean the affective approach or avoidance response to a particular communication situation. Obviously, if a person avoids a particular situation, the opportunity to communicate simply is not available. Some second language learners may choose not to communicate in a situation because they judge their capabilities in the new language to be so poor that not communicating is perceived as more rewarding than doing so. . . . Avoidance at the motivational level reinforces the perception of incompetence because the individual never puts himself or herself in a position to increase skill levels and to be evaluated positively by others" (442).

The tendency to avoid anxiety-filled situations, then, is normal in language classrooms, but it is even more so in bilingual classrooms in which learners come to understand that they do not have to cope with the difficulties of the new language. If the lesson is given bilingually, they avoid listening to it in English because they know that they will receive it in their first language either orally or in written form. If they do not want to use speech in the new language to ask questions or respond to the teacher, they ask or respond in their first language because they know that the bilingual teacher understands it. Eventually this type of behavior becomes habitual and learners make little progress toward proficiency in the new language.

## CONCLUSION

The case made for the predominant model of bilingual instruction—that exemplified by the Eastman Curriculum Design project in Los Angeles—is built on some rather tenuous assumptions. In the students' first several years in these bilingual programs, a high percentage of class time is devoted to subject matter and reading instruction in their primary language and, for the most part, their English language development is deferred to a later time. Moreover, during this early period in the time that is allotted to English language instruction, major attention is placed on receptive language

with language production being delayed until a future time when the students are supposedly ready for it.

The theoretical justification given for the delay of the English language development of limited-English students is that what knowledge these students gain from primary language instruction will transfer to English, if and when their English language proficiency reaches a certain threshold level and this, in turn, will somehow facilitate overall English language learning.

If the literature on transfer tells us anything, it is that no one is yet certain about when and how transfer works. We know that there is positive transfer, but it is also clearly established that there is negative transfer and that this alone, or in conjunction with other processes, can inhibit learning.

Another inhibiting factor in language learning is avoidance behavior. If learners have little opportunity to be in situations which require production in a new language, avoidance of situations or of certain structural aspects of the language will be a likely result.

Beyond this, there is no mention in the literature of transfer of knowledge and language transfer being synonymous. And yet, Cummins, Krashen and others confidently proclaim this to be the case.

Knowledge and vocabulary gained in native language instruction classes will certainly benefit language minority students, and it will transfer to English eventually but, unless it is cognate, it will not enhance the development of English because language is more than just certain lexical items, i.e., grammar, syntax, morphology, phonology, etc.

How is a second language learned? We know that the learner must have input from the target language; this seems to be so obvious that we scarcely need mention it. It seems logical, also, that this input should be comprehensible although there is some disagreement here—even Krashen has added a one to his input (i+1) to signify that input does not have to be completely comprehensible.

Is input enough? According to many of our authorities, output (production) is also needed from the very beginning so that the learner can "negotiate" meaning. Without using this productive side of language, the learner will never reach the point at which he automatizes (learns to think in) the structural aspects of his new language so that he can concentrate on the content of his communications.

Production, then, leads to interaction, and it is only when the student is in an interactional environment that he will make real progress in the development of his English and in subject mat-

ter classes taught in English. Content-based instruction also permits the learner to benefit from this interaction while at the same time making satisfactory academic progress.

It is my hope that this discussion of the clear differences between interactional approaches to English language teaching and the native language intensive bilingual approach will be sufficiently provocative to cause the reader to further explore this subject. As the number of immigrant students in our public schools continues to grow at a more rapid pace than the other segments of the school population, the need to understand the complexity of the second language learning process is urgent. This understanding is crucial to the development of effective teaching programs for limited-English students. There should be no doubt that the future success or failure of these students will affect the country at large. Educational policy, therefore, must be based on our understanding of how the schools can best help these young people to become fluent in English and thus open for themselves the door to educational, social and economic opportunity that will ultimately benefit us all.

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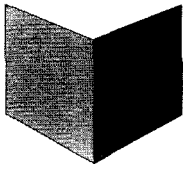
# Bilingual Education

## Adapted from *Reinventing the Schools: A Radical Plan For Boston*



# Bilingual Education

## Adapted from *Reinventing the Schools: A Radical Plan For Boston*

Steven F. Wilson

In 1967, U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough introduced legislation to provide federal funds for bilingual education programs. But as to the programs' design and purpose, the legislation was vague—perhaps intentionally so. Even Yarborough admitted, "Every time people ask me, What does bilingual education mean? I reply that it means different things to different people."[1] Is bilingual education intended to help children with limited English proficiency (LEP) master the English language? Or is its purpose to preserve the native language and culture? A quarter of a century later, these questions remain unanswered.

Despite this confusion of purpose, Massachusetts did not hesitate to adopt its own bilingual education law, Chapter 71A of the Massachusetts General Laws, mandating transitional bilingual education (TBE), an instructional model of questionable efficacy and considerable cost. In Boston today, 16.6 percent of all students, and 40.5 percent of all Hispanic students, are in bilingual programs.[2] Their education costs far more than that of regular education students. Critics charge that many LEP students remain in the program well beyond its intended three-year course and receive inadequate instruction in English. Deprived of the English-language skills they need to perform at grade level in the regular classroom, these students are often referred to special education. Many drop out, lacking the skills they need to get good jobs or go to college.

Many bilingual educators never wanted TBE to be "transitional" in the first place. LEP students, they argue, should be educated in both English and their native language throughout their schooling. Critics of bilingual education claim that intensive English as a Second Language (ESL pull-out) programs result in far superior development of English skills. Other educators claim the best results obtain from "structured immersion" programs, in which children are taught in English at a level appropriate to their comprehension. Still other educators call for two-way bilingual programs, in which English-speaking students master the language of their

classmates. Which programs are the most effective for which ends? Can one program meet the needs of all children? Would choice satisfy all parents and defuse the political tensions that haunt bilingual education?

## TRANSITIONAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The nation's schools have historically treated linguistic minorities shamefully. Many children with limited English proficiency were labeled as mentally retarded, punished for using their own language, or simply left to sink or swim in the alien classroom of their English-proficient peers. This ignominious history fired today's emotional debate over bilingual education. Policymakers came to believe, as bilingual education researchers Christine Rossell and J. Michael Ross put it, "that any policy which ignores the mother tongue in favor of English is racist, and any policy which maintains the mother tongue, however inadequately, is equitable."[3]

Educators now recognize that LEP students need special help. While several different instructional approaches have evolved, TBE is by far the most common in the United States. LEP students are supposed to remain in TBE for three years, and then make the transition into the regular classroom. Each class is composed of students of one native language; the teacher initially instructs the students in all subject matter in the native tongue, and provides English lessons. As the students' proficiency increases, the teacher uses more and more English until the students are prepared to join their regular education peers.

TBE's instructional design relies on three cognitive theories: First, learning to read in the native language improves students' ability to learn to read English. Second, unless instruction in mathematics and other subjects continues in the native language while students learn English, they will fall behind in these subjects. Third, classes conducted in the native language provide an environment supportive of learning, increasing parental involvement and enhancing student achievement.

Proponents of bilingual education obtained a governmental mandate through Congress (in the Bilingual Education Act of 1968) and the courts. In the pivotal 1974 Supreme Court decision *Lau v. Nichols,* Chinese plaintiffs from California successfully argued that their special needs were not met by programs in the schools. The plaintiffs invoked the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII, which states that "no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participating in or be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any

program receiving federal assistance."[4] The Court held that any school district receiving federal assistance must overcome the English language deficiencies of its LEP students: "There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful discussion."[5]

But the justices left it to local officials to determine how to meet this requirement: "No specific remedy is urged. . . . Teaching English to the students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak the language is one choice. Giving instructions to this group in Chinese is another. There may be others."[6] Yet in 1975, the Office for Civil Rights issued the *Lau remedies,* recommendations that set forth in every detail how districts should design and administer programs for LEP students. To determine the pupil's primary language, school administrators were instructed not to gauge the student's proficiency in English, but to find out which language was used at home, which language he had first learned, and which he used the most frequently. A student fluent in English might therefore still be eligible for services.[7] The federal government insisted that TBE was the optimal approach for providing equal opportunity to linguistic minorities. No scientific evidence was presented to back this claim, yet federal aid was made contingent on following the guidelines and most school districts fell in line.[8]

Excessive interference by the judiciary and federal and state government limitations on the autonomy of local school districts have detracted from the education of LEP children and stifled the development of promising pedagogical alternatives. Indeed, the *Lau* remedies have sometimes been taken to absurd extremes. Since Cape Verdean has no written form, rigorous adherence to the TBE model justified the federal government in creating one. Students could then progress from the spoken language, to reading the synthetic Cape Verdean, to reading Portuguese, and finally to learning English.[9] Similarly, the Office for Civil Rights ordered a district in Alaska to develop a written Eskimo language to support TBE.[10]

Massachusetts was the first state to enact legislation requiring transitional bilingual education in any district with 20 or more LEP children who speak the same language. Chapter 71A does not require more than three years of TBE instruction, and parents can opt out of the program, though this requires an active step on their part. The law allows school committees to sustain the program beyond three years, however, and many advocates say children are mainstreamed too soon.[11]

## EFFECTIVENESS OF TBE

Ever since *Lau,* the effectiveness of transitional bilingual education has been questioned. The debate has been long on passion but short on clarity. Studies on TBE have focused on two measures of academic success: English and math skills. Most rigorous scientific studies show TBE to be no more effective than simply placing LEP students in regular classrooms.[12] Some advocates, however, have urged that the program's measure of success be broadened. Data that gauge the "social pathology which accompanies injustice"—including employment figures after graduation, drug addiction and alcoholism levels, suicide rates, and prevalence of psychiatric disorders—would all be assessed in evaluating the program's value.[13] The goals of bilingual education may indeed reach beyond English and math proficiency. Yet these are the skills that are the most vital to students' futures. As Rossell and Ross have argued, it is on these skills that tests will be given throughout their schooling, and on the basis of which key decisions affecting their further education and livelihood will be made.[14]

The research on bilingual education has a poor reputation among both advocates and critics. The primary methodological problem is the absence of a control group. A properly designed study would compare the "treatment" group of students administered the bilingual program with a "control" group of students in a submersion program (i.e., in a regular classroom). Many studies erroneously claim a program is effective if its students show any gain in skills. But if the gains made by students in the treatment group are *less* than those of the control group, then the child would have progressed more without the intervention and the program has in fact had an adverse effect on the child's education. Rosalie Porter, author of *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education,* points out that many studies lack comparison groups or fail to pretest students to determine initial levels of aptitude.[15]

Even bilingual advocates concede that there is little scientific evidence of TBE's superiority. One well-known bilingual advocate, Kenji Hakuta, concludes,

> Studies of the effectiveness of bilingual education in improving either English or math scores have not been overwhelmingly in favor of bilingual education. To be sure, there are programs that have been highly effective, but not very many.[16]

Rossell and Ross have done the most comprehensive review to date of the many existing studies on TBE.[17] Their search of the

past two decades' literature identified 35 studies that were methodologically rigorous. For a study to qualify, they insisted that there be both treatment and control groups, and if students were not assigned randomly to these groups, that pre-treatment differences between students be controlled for statistically. Of the 35 studies, 29 percent found TBE to be superior to submersion, 21 percent found TBE to be inferior, and 50 percent found it to be no different than submersion. Only 7 percent of the studies found TBE to be superior at teaching math, 27 percent found it inferior, and 67 percent found it to be no different. In other words, 71 percent of the studies found TBE no better or worse at teaching English, and 94 percent found it no better or worse at teaching math than doing nothing.[18]

Rossell and Ross conclude that the studies find no support for two of the three key theoretical premises of TBE. First, there is no empirical evidence that learning to read in the native tongue facilitates reading in English. If it did, English achievement under TBE would be consistently superior to submersion. Second, there is no evidence that learning math and other subjects in their native language keeps language minority children from falling behind in these subjects. If it did, the math achievement of students in TBE would also be consistently superior to submersion.[19]

In fact, common sense suggests that the best predictor of achievement in the second language is the amount of time studying it. As Rossell and Ross also note, this supposition is borne out in nearly every analysis. The "time on task" principle was perhaps most exhaustively explored in the Canadian structured immersion experiments. Canadian researchers compiled the results of hundreds of experiments in which students received different amounts of second language instruction, from less than an hour a day to the full school day. Achievement in the second language varied commensurately.[20] Some critics have argued that these tests were conducted with middle-class children and the findings, therefore, are not applicable to the American immigrant population. But experiments with working-class children replicated the findings and only underscored the time on task principle.[21]

If time on task best predicts student outcomes, would not TBE always produce inferior results? Rossell and Ross note that many studies found TBE to be the same or better than submersion. They conjecture, first, that the psychological benefits of TBE over submersion—the use of native-language instructors and the welcoming environment—may cause students to come to school more often. The TBE student may spend more time in school, yet receive less English instruction when there, than his counterpart who is

alienated in the regular classroom. Second, instruction in the best TBE classrooms may more nearly resemble that of structured immersion programs, in which most instruction is in English. Rossell and Ross conclude that the most promising approach may be structured immersion with bilingual teachers of the same ethnic group as the students. Then, both the psychological and cognitive needs of LEP children would be satisfied.[22]

One of the largest studies of bilingual education is the American Institutes for Research (AIR) report of 1977, a national survey of 38 Title VII Spanish/English bilingual programs involving some 8,900 students. AIR compared academic outcomes of students in transitional bilingual education with those of students in submersion programs, including some with ESL pull-out classes. AIR found TBE to be inferior to submersion for learning English (worse than "doing nothing") and no different for learning math.[23]

TBE advocates like Jim Cummins, a Canadian linguist, have argued that the study failed to distinguish between effective and ineffective bilingual programs, and that weaknesses in many TBE implementations—including a lack of bilingual teachers, poor curricula, and lack of support from the district—obscured the strengths of high-quality programs. Furthermore, some non–Title VII treatments had bilingual teachers. Since treatments were defined on the basis of funding, not instructional content, Cummins and others contend that no inferences can be drawn from the study.[24] It is true that the report does not tell us anything about what the results of TBE would be if it were ideally implemented. But as a test of the programs actually in use, the results stand.

Cummins' criticism is especially ironic in light of how some bilingual education researchers would characterize the best-case instruction. William Tickunoff's study of successful bilingual instruction identified three key attributes: 1) 80 percent of classroom time is allocated to academic learning, 2) teachers use the native language only when needed to clarify instruction, and 3) non-language subjects are taught in English. These, of course, are the characteristics of structured immersion, not of TBE.[25]

The Ramirez Report is the most ambitious study to date comparing instructional programs for LEP children. This two-volume, 1,000-page work was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education at a cost of $4.5 million. Titled the *Longitudinal Study of Structured Immersion Strategy, Early-Exit and Late-Exit Transitional Bilingual Education Programs for Language-Minority Children*, it examined nine programs involving 2,000 Spanish-speaking students over a four-year period. The study concluded that "it appears that [academic skills in] those sites that provided their students with

the most primary [native] language instruction consistently grew faster" and that students "who were provided with a substantial and consistent primary language development program, learned mathematics, English language, and English reading skills as fast or faster than the normal population."[26]

But Christine Rossell has identified several fundamental methodological flaws that call the study's findings into question.[27] One of her main critiques is that the study design and subsequent data analysis are based on nominal program types—early-exit TBE, late-exit TBE, and structured immersion—rather than on what actually occurred in the classroom. The researchers categorized each classroom as one of these three types, and gathered extensive pre- and post-treatment data on all participating students. The problem, the report's authors concede, is that there is as much variation *within* the actual classroom practice of each program type as there is *between* nominal program types. In fact, the researchers gathered and reported extensive data on observed classroom practices—most significantly, the amount and type of English used—but failed to incorporate these telling data in their analysis. For instance, in both the early- and late-exit TBE programs, a significant proportion of teachers did not speak Spanish, making the programs much more like immersion. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of the early exit programs and one-third of the late-exit programs provided first graders with reading instruction in English, yet TBE requires that reading be taught first in the native language, and in English only in the second grade or later.[28] This finding, too, suggests that many programs labeled TBE were in fact closer to structured immersion.

Students in all programs were close to the national norm in English by the end of first grade. Rossell speculates that these students, after spending all of their early childhood in the United States, might have been highly proficient in English when entering kindergarten. Rossell provides additional persuasive evidence that many of the children in the programs already knew English.[29] Not only were the scores close to the national norm after kindergarten, but the *change* in scores over time was very small. Scores of a truly LEP child would begin well below the norm and rise rapidly with treatment. Only children who are *already* nearly proficient in the language would be expected to show such small gains from one year to the next.

The study strongly suggests that not only are many students unnecessarily enrolled in bilingual programs (at considerable expense), but that children stay in the programs longer than necessary and much longer than the model anticipates. As Rossell notes,

while 72 percent of the students in the early-exit TBE programs had been reclassified as English proficient, only 17 percent had been mainstreamed into regular education. Only 26 percent of structured immersion students had been mainstreamed after three years.[30]

The study also found that bilingual educators frequently ignore the wishes of parents: Forty-one percent of parents whose children were in early-exit TBE programs wished their child to be taught only in English. Clearly, these children belonged in structured immersion.[31]

Finally, the advantages of structured immersion programs are understated by the analysis because more than two-thirds of students in these programs were classified as learning disabled, in contrast to 43 percent of early-exit and 17 percent of late-exit students.[32]

Rossell finds no support in the study for the theory that instruction in the native language facilitates learning English, but finds no support for the time on task principle either. The second theory of bilingual education, that native language instruction allows students to learn math and other subjects more rapidly, is also not supported. The amount of time in the classroom devoted to repetition, discussion, and drill varied little across the three program types. As Rossell writes, "The ability to use the student's native tongue does not cause the teachers to provide more complex instruction as measured in this study. Nor does it keep the students more engaged."[33]

Rossell proposes that Ramirez's raw data be reanalyzed as a function of instructional time in English, rather than of nominal program types. The data presented in the Ramirez study suggest that structured immersion programs result in the highest academic achievement, and early-exit TBE programs in the lowest achievement.[34] Late-exit programs with the most Spanish resulted in achievement levels between those of the other two instruction types. Rossell, however, cautions that none of these findings can be relied on given the problems with the report.

In sum, the research on bilingual education raises troubling questions about the effectiveness of the governmentally mandated design. Would other instructional designs prove significantly more effective at equipping Boston's language minority children with the basic academic skills to succeed in school and in the job market? The school day is finite. Should parents of LEP students be able to choose how much their children's education emphasizes native language skills, the child's native culture, and mastery of English?

## ALTERNATIVES TO TBE

While Massachusetts state law mandates transitional bilingual education, elsewhere other instructional designs for LEP children have shown promising results. The Fairfax County, Virginia, school district, one of the country's 10 largest, has since 1975 provided ESL programs for thousands of LEP students. Even though the students enrolled in the program are not taught in their native language, the U.S. Office for Civil Rights decided after a five-year investigation to give official approval to the program. After leaving the program, most students perform at or above grade level. In a 1988 analysis, 80 percent of students were determined to be proficient in English within two years of joining the program.[35] Critics of the Fairfax plan have claimed that its students are drawn from upper-middle-class families and discounted the program's results. Yet, today, approximately 40 percent of Fairfax's LEP students are poor enough to be eligible for free or reduced-price school lunches.[36]

The Berkeley, California, school district was one of the first in the country to provide extra help to language minority children. Today, the district offers both bilingual and ESL pull-out programs to students in kindergarten through grade 6. The Spanish bilingual program provides instruction in Spanish with increasing English through sixth grade; two middle schools provide sheltered (simplified English) subject matter classes. Most bilingual students remain in the program for seven years. The ESL program offers intensive pull-out classes and tutoring, but students spend approximately 88 percent of their time in the regular classroom. In the 1989 case *Teresa P. v. Berkeley Unified School District*, a group of Hispanic parents sued the district, alleging that the school district had an inferior, and thus unconstitutional LEP program; not all of the teachers in its language program held specialized ESL or bilingual credentials and, they argued, the district employed an insufficient number of native-tongue teachers and tutors. The plaintiffs also alleged "the failure to provide students' instruction in academic subjects in the students' primary language sufficient to sustain academic achievement."[37] However, extensive evidence failed to substantiate the plaintiffs' claims that the district needed to provide more primary-language instruction to assure the rights of the district's LEP children.

Rossell has compared standardized tests administered to Berkeley students in the spring of 1987 with the previous year's results, after statistically adjusting for all variables that might influence achievement, including ethnicity, social class, age, and number of years in the program. The data on two different tests—an

English proficiency test and a test of basic skills—showed no significant difference between TBE and ESL. Gains in English proficiency and reading, language, and math achievement were similar in both programs. But in 1987–88 the district was pressured by the California Department of Education to increase the use of the student's native language in bilingual instruction. A comparison of achievement test scores from 1987 to 1988 found that bilingual education had a significant and adverse effect on achievement in reading, language, and math. Despite the ESL pull-out students' participation in total submersion (not structured immersion) for nearly 90 percent of their school time, they achieved substantially more than their counterparts in bilingual programs.

One last question must be examined, one that is especially pertinent to the applicability of Berkeley's findings to other districts, such as Boston. What if Berkeley's bilingual programs were poorly implemented, or the ESL pull-out programs were atypically strong? Then the conclusions would not be generalizable. But Berkeley's bilingual programs had already been cited as exemplary by the California Department of Education. Rossell performed identical test comparisons between Berkeley's ESL programs and bilingual education programs in two other districts, San Jose and Fremont. The state department of education had identified Fremont's program as exemplary, and Fremont and San Jose were the only two districts cited by Stephen Krashen and Douglas Biber, in their 1988 book on bilingual education, to be outstanding in all regards.[39] The comparison found no significant differences between the reading achievement of Berkeley's LEP students and those of the other two districts. Berkeley LEP students, however, did significantly better in math than students in either San Jose or Fremont. In short, Rossell found no basis for the claim that the district operates a poor bilingual education program.[40]

By the same token, if the goal is English-language skills, then the Berkeley ESL pull-out is *not* an exemplary practice. In the ESL design, as Rossell notes, students are initially taught for no more than one-fifth of their day in English keyed to their current comprehension. The balance of their time is spent in the regular classroom, in the supposedly discredited submersion mode. It is a reasonable conjecture that if students were taught in English at a level appropriate to their understanding for most or all of the day, as in structured immersion programs, achievement in reading and English skills would dramatically outpace that of the TBE model. While the time on task principle is strongly suggestive, little is known about how structured immersion programs would perform in the United States because bilingual education advocates have consistently prevented their adoption.

Even ardent TBE advocates, however, concede that Canada's French immersion programs are successful on a large scale. Monolingual English speakers are taught entirely in French in the earliest grades and by sixth grade they are taught in English and French in about equal proportions. These students develop substantial French skills, and their English and math achievement is at the same level as students taught in English exclusively. Hakuta suggests that the proliferation of this method of bilingual teaching is a testament to its success.[41] Two-way bilingual education, in which English speakers also master the language of their LEP classmates, has also proven effective, though it is particularly costly. The Hernandez school in Boston offers two-way Spanish bilingual education and is highly regarded by parents and educators, although no one knows the program's effects on academic achievement in either English or Spanish of its LEP or English-speaking students.

## TBE ENROLLMENT IN BOSTON

The number of students in Boston's bilingual education program is increasing rapidly (Table 1). The largest language groups are Spanish, Haitian, and Chinese.[42]

TABLE 1
BILINGUAL EDUCATION ENROLLMENT IN
THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1983–1992

| | 1983–84 | % | 1987–88 | % | 1991–92 | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spanish | 3,986 | 54.2 | 4,477 | 54.2 | 5,428 | 56.3 |
| Haitian | 520 | 7.1 | 1,022 | 12.4 | 1,298 | 13.5 |
| Chinese | 872 | 11.9 | 980 | 11.9 | 1,049 | 10.9 |
| Cape Verdean | 541 | 7.3 | 653 | 7.9 | 857 | 8.9 |
| Vietnamese | 402 | 5.5 | 458 | 5.5 | 649 | 6.7 |
| Other | 1,035 | 14.1 | 672 | 8.1 | 365 | 3.8 |
| Bilingual Enrollment | 7,356 | | 8,262 | | 9,646 | |
| Total Enrollment | 54,468 | | 54,765 | | 58,263 | |
| % Bilingual | | 13.5 | | 15.1 | | 16.6 |

*Source:* Bilingual Education Department, Boston Public Schools, 25 February 1992.

The number of students in bilingual education programs statewide is also increasing. The Massachusetts Department of Education estimates that the number of LEP students in the state is increasing by 3,000 students per year. In 1990, the 50 districts with TBE programs reported a total of 36,427 students in 18 different language categories. Spanish speakers are by far the largest group, with 62 percent of the total TBE population. In 1987 there were 15,150 Spanish-speaking TBE students; in 1990 there were 22,540.[43]

TABLE 2
FTE TEACHING POSITIONS IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1986–1992

| | FTE Teachers | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Regular | Bilingual | Special | Other | Total |
| 1986–87 | 2,721.0 | 456.5 | 781.0 | 299.0 | 4,257.5 |
| % | 64.0 | 10.7 | 18.3 | 7.0 | |
| 1987–88 | 2,709.5 | 480.5 | 835.0 | 344.0 | 4,369.0 |
| % | 62.0 | 11.0 | 19.1 | 7.9 | |
| 1988–89 | 2,642.0 | 479.5 | 863.0 | 388.0 | 4,372.5 |
| % | 60.4 | 11.0 | 19.7 | 8.9 | |
| 1989–90 | 2,480.5 | 504.0 | 887.5 | 352.0 | 4,224.0 |
| % | 58.7 | 11.9 | 21.0 | 8.3 | |
| 1990–91 | 2,392.2 | 509.0 | 929.0 | 322.5 | 4,160.7 |
| % | 57.5 | 12.2 | 22.3 | 7.7 | |
| 1991–92 | 2,368.5 | 537.5 | 946.5 | 410.5 | 4,263.0 |
| % | 55.6 | 12.6 | 22.2 | 9.6 | |

| | Change in FTE Teaching Positions | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Regular | Bilingual | Special | Other |
| 1986–87 | 143.9 | 9.5 | 30.0 | -9.0 |
| 1987–88 | -11.5 | 24.0 | 54.0 | 45.0 |
| 1988–89 | -67.5 | -1.0 | 28.0 | 44.0 |
| 1989–90 | -161.5 | 24.5 | 24.5 | -36.0 |
| 1990–91 | -88.3 | 5.0 | 41.5 | -29.5 |
| 1991–92 | -23.7 | 28.5 | 17.5 | 88.0 |

*Source:* Boston Municipal Research Bureau, 17 March 1992.

The number of bilingual education teachers increased commensurately. In Boston, the number of bilingual teachers grew by 32 percent from 1984 to 1992.[44] As with special education, the growth is at the expense of regular education programs. Over the same period, the regular education teaching force decreased by 203.6 FTE positions.[45] Meanwhile, the seniority system ensured that virtually no new teachers were hired for regular education programs. Only in bilingual and special education has the district hired teachers, as Table 2 illustrates.

Bilingual education is expensive. Advocates of bilingual education rarely consider its costs. But like special education, bilingual education is an entitlement program, and enrollment is rapidly increasing. This takes resources from regular education. Maximum bilingual class sizes are dictated by the *Lau* remedies, while teacher contracts set much higher limits for regular education class size. State regulations mandate a student-teacher ratio of no greater than 18 to 1, or 25 to 1 if an aide is assigned to the classroom.[46] Spending per student for bilingual education is therefore higher than for regular education. In Boston, the per-pupil instructional cost for bilingual education is $6,009 annually, versus $5,209 for regular education students.[47]

When bilingual education advocates propose program modifications, they seldom seem to consider the implications for non-LEP children. Ramirez et al. decry the lack of fluent English speakers in the second language acquisition programs they reviewed, and emphasize the importance of LEP children interacting with English-speaking students. But such classes are conducted primarily in another language, and the authors of the report offer no suggestion for how the fully English-proficient (FEP) student's loss of learning time would be overcome. The same problem applies to structured immersion programs, where the teacher sticks to simplified English. FEP students would learn less than their peers in the regular classroom.

While Hakuta acknowledges the lack of scientific evidence of TBE's effectiveness, he nevertheless argues that *all* students, including fluent English speakers, should be enrolled in two-way bilingual programs for their entire school careers.[48] As Howard Gardner has written, "When the evidence is the weakest—on the case for bilingual programs—[Hakuta] ends up drawing the strongest, and least warranted, conclusions."[49] Universal bilingualism, Hakuta argues, would reinforce social solidarity, convey a life-enriching asset, and allow LEP students to capitalize on their own natural resource.[50] But a national goal of bilingualism would not win broad

support, and Hakuta does not address how the program's immense cost would be borne.

## CRITIQUE OF TBE

Criticisms have been made of transitional bilingual education; many are applicable to Boston's TBE program. They include overenrollment, the late exit to regular classes by TBE students, insufficient English instruction, inadequate preparation to participate in the mainstream economy, questionable claims of extra-academic benefits, and the charge that bilingual education is an employment system.

The number of students in bilingual programs in the United States is increasing dramatically. According to a 1980 study cited by Hakuta, the number of public school students in bilingual programs will have increased 35 percent by the year 2000.[51] If the trends of the last decade continue, 21 percent of BPS students will be enrolled in bilingual programs by then.[52]

Are too many children being placed in bilingual programs? According to one federal report, up to 60 percent of Spanish-speaking children placed in bilingual education programs have stronger English-language skills than native-language skills.[53] Misclassification has been highlighted in numerous federal reports. In Texas, one study revealed that students who spoke only English and were living with parents who occasionally spoke Spanish were classified as "limited-English." One survey of a Cherokee community showed that while 48 percent of the children were evaluated to be LEP, 82 percent knew *only* English. In a study conducted in California, only half of the Hispanic students labeled LEP were more proficient in Spanish than English.[54] The AIR study of 1977–78 concluded that less than a third of the students enrolled in bilingual programs had limited English-speaking ability.[55] A sample of school districts in California found that only half of the students categorized as LEP were in fact more fluent in their native language than in English. In one of these districts, 40 percent of the students classified as bilingual spoke no Spanish at all.[56] Similar surveys of other districts receiving federal funds for bilingual programs have found that many of the students identified for bilingual education do not need it. The consequences of these practices are disturbing: Children are rationed instruction in the basic English-language skills that afford them the best opportunity to thrive in the mainstream economy, instructional costs climb, and children are, in effect, resegregated by ethnic background.

Does Boston over-identify students for bilingual education as well? While no studies have been conducted, the state's eligibility criteria encourage overenrollment. Any children "who were not born in the United States whose native tongue is a language other than English . . . [or] who were born in the United States of non English speaking parents" and "who are incapable of performing ordinary classwork in English" are referred to the program.[57] Once a child is enrolled, the parent must write to the school committee before the child can be returned to the regular classroom. Since the enrollment criteria rely on the language of the parent, not the child, many children who are merely doing poorly in school may be referred to the program.

Are Boston students retained in bilingual programs too long? Are the programs succeeding in educating these children and in preparing them to lead productive lives? In 1990–91, the annual dropout rate for Hispanics was 19 percent, compared to 13.6 percent for blacks, 9.8 percent for whites, and 7 percent for Asians. The systemwide dropout rate was 13.1 percent.[58]

In 1985, Charles Glenn undertook an analysis of Boston's transitional bilingual education programs in an effort to understand why the schools were failing to educate Hispanic children. Glenn had worked aggressively for the state's pioneering bilingual education law, but had come to question whether the mandated instructional model of TBE was meeting the needs of the growing number of LEP students. Glenn noted that in the *Lau* ruling, the Supreme Court had stated,

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. . . . Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin minority children must not operate as an educational deadend or permanent track.[59]

Was Boston's program operating as such an educational deadend? Student progress is measured by the four *Lau* "steps," gradual degrees of mainstreaming with their English-speaking peers. Of the 32 elementary bilingual programs, serving a total of 4,437 students, only seven had any students at the highest step, "mainstreaming with continuing support." Only 17 schools reported any students at the second highest step, "partial mainstreaming."

Glenn analyzed the status of each of the 1,485 students then enrolled in Boston's 16 middle school (grades 6–8) bilingual programs. Of the 1,485 students, 485, or one in three, had been in bilingual programs for *six* or more years. Fully 46 percent of the Spanish-speaking students had been in bilingual programs for six

or more years.[60] In principle, these students should have been working half in English and half in their native languages in the second year of their schooling, mostly in English in their third year, and entirely in English thereafter. Yet after six or even eight years, they were still segregated in a bilingual program.

Of the middle school students who had been in bilingual education six years or longer, 37 percent were speaking their native language exclusively; in one school, the figure was 88 percent. Another 29 percent of the students were classified as speaking some English. Eight percent of students in bilingual education spoke English almost exclusively; in one school, 29 percent of students enrolled in bilingual education were speaking mostly English.[61] Forty-five percent of all students who had been in the program for six or more years were still at the first *Lau* step, i.e., in the bilingual program exclusively.

The data were equally disturbing at the high school level. At East Boston High School, 71 percent of all the students in the Italian bilingual program had been in it for eight or more years, though fewer than one in three were more fluent in Italian than English.

The situation was worse for students in the Spanish programs. Glenn concluded that it appeared that Boston's "bilingual programs both segregate them [Spanish-speaking students] *and* fail to teach a substantial proportion of them the skills which, according to the *Lau* decision, are essential."[62] These students are "educationally isolated far longer than contemplated by the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Law," because the program either fails to teach them English, prevents them from rejoining the mainstream, or both. Other students, Glenn concluded, especially Greek- and Italian-speaking students, are retained in the bilingual program for years, apparently despite their mastery of an adequate level of English skills.[63]

In 1982, Boston had attributed the large number of students remaining in TBE beyond its intended course to the "incidence of special needs students, the entry of older-previously-unschooled and illiterate students, and the registration of large numbers of Southeast Asian refugees."[64] Yet the proportion of special needs students (excluding those in private school prototypes) in bilingual programs (12 percent) was *lower*, not higher, than that of the district as a whole (19 percent). The second factor, the entry of older students with defective prior schooling, is irrelevant, since the middle school data cited by Glenn pertain to students enrolled in Boston schools since the start of their schooling. The last proposed explanation makes even less sense. The "Asian refugees" had in large

part been in the system for three years or less, and Asian students were the most rapidly mainstreamed. Glenn concludes,

> It seems more appropriate to look for an explanation for the low level of English-language skills attained by a disturbingly high proportion of the students—and especially Hispanic students—in bilingual programs in Boston . . . in the teaching strategies employed and in the messages which (perhaps unconsciously) are given to students about the importance of acquiring these skills, rather than in the characteristics of the students themselves. . . . It will not do to assume that they are incapable of mastering a second language in six or eight years of schooling.[65]

Does Boston continue to retain students beyond the program's three-year course? Unfortunately, the department was unable to provide more recent data.

Since educators disagree about the goal of bilingual education, they differ on the significance of students exiting the program later than the nominal three years. Jim Cummins contends that while children can learn English for social uses ("playground English") quickly, five or more years are required to learn academic subject matter in English.[66] Many adults who have studied in foreign countries or taken foreign-language classes find the claims of bilingual advocates hard to reconcile with their own experiences. Late-exit bilingual advocates dismiss these perceptions as based on "middle-class" experiences and therefore not applicable to disadvantaged children.

Advocates of reforming bilingual education offer a different interpretation of the poor achievement of LEP children in Boston and other districts. They argue that children are denied adequate English instruction in TBE programs, stay in them too long, and consequently are woefully underprepared to return to the regular classroom. The requirement that students be reading at grade level before joining their English-proficient peers perpetuates the cycle. Many students do not perform at grade level even if English is their native language. If, as Rosalie Porter has suggested, six years of instruction in TBE classes does not prepare students for regular classes, it is time to try something else.[67] One Boston headmaster explained his policy:

> I believe that all kids, after three years, should be mainstreamed—unless you can have a bilingual plan written for them where there is a particular exception, because of a diagnosed particular need that is unusual, exceptional.

> I think here at the _____School we do a pretty good job of that, but we don't have to. . . . Students become bilingual or they put themselves in great jeopardy.[68]

Since only some schools house bilingual programs, the court has had to make some exceptions to its policy of racial controls on student assignment. As a result, some parents keep their children in bilingual programs for well over three years because they fear their children, once mainstreamed, will be involuntarily assigned to a remote school to satisfy district quotas:

> It's supposed to be transitional, three years, and no more, unless the parent wants it. Well, the parents' perception of the _____ School is that it's a great place to be, that it's safe. . . . And therefore you have this crazy situation: kids getting through fifth grade who are perfectly able to go into the regular class, but the parents balk because if you take them out of bilingual, they'll have to go to a school they are assigned to. That's the wrong reason for being in bilingual.[69]

The bilingual law is a vivid example of how an inflexible, state-mandated educational policy poorly serves both local districts and their clients. The product of political compromise, the law leaves everyone in bilingual education, to varying measures, dissatisfied. Bilingual advocates, like Dr. Sonia Nieto of the University of Massachusetts, admit that they never wanted the program to be "transitional" in the first place: Parents, Nieto claims, want their children to be taught in their native language. "We must redefine the mainstream so it includes us," she insists.[70] Many TBE administrators will therefore not be held to task for so many students remaining in the program beyond three years. Like Nieto, many Hispanic teachers favor late-exit programs. Yet they are neither licensed to implement the instructional model they believe in and demonstrate its merit, nor will they commit to faithfully implementing the TBE model and promptly transitioning their students. Indeed, proponents of alternative methods like structured immersion are threatened with the loss of state funding if they openly challenge TBE's effectiveness.

The ultimate loser is, of course, the child: His parents may never have signed on to the program's goals and his teacher's commitment to them may be lackluster. The instructional design to which he is subjected is incoherent, the product of bureaucratic compromise. Yet parental subscription, teacher commitment, and a clear mission are all prerequisites for effective education.

Another frequent criticism of TBE is that students receive insufficient English instruction. Common sense tells us that to become proficient in a language we must practice it regularly. What better way to master a foreign language than to live in a country where it is spoken, working to understand and be understood? The time on task findings confirm that the most effective language programs are those that immerse students in the new language. But in Boston, according to the bilingual education department, students receive only ninety minutes a day of English instruction. Aside from occasional courses in art, music, or physical education, they are kept segregated from their English-speaking peers.[70] One headmaster expressed his frustration:

> One of the things I wanted to do this year was to decrease the number of courses that students get in their native language—instead of giving them one period of English, give them two periods. I had the Hispanic parents up here all over me about that: "Why are you doing this? These kids need their Spanish. This is their culture." But we are in the United States where they should be learning English. "But you are being insensitive, Mr. _____." I said, "They take one English class out of seven periods per day. They need more than that. . . . That is like my learning French for one period a day: I'm not going to learn it. . . . In order for me to become fluent in Spanish I had to go and meet people who were Spanish speaking. . . . If you don't do that, you are not going to learn. There is no mystery. It's like learning to play an instrument; you have to stay on it. You can't stop. If you stop shooting baskets, you don't become a good basketball player."[71]

Students who enroll in schools without TBE programs for their language groups often learn rapidly in the mainstream. As one principal observed,

> The only bilingual program we have is Spanish, but we do have kids that are Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, and Chinese. And you know, there's no one [else] that speaks those languages, so those kids are totally immersed and learning fast.[71]

Another principal criticized the district's policy of retaining students in "transitional" bilingual programs. She described how her transitional kindergarten program, by switching early to all-English instruction, successfully mainstreams children by the first grade:

> What's prevalent in Boston is that the children go to a "bilingual school." They go to a school that has all grades from K through 5 bilingual. And the child goes from grade to grade in the programs—ends up staying in bilingual for five years, and sometimes six, unnecessarily, past the time that he or she needs to be in it. Our [bilingual] children are in kindergarten, and the growth they've made in the English language is just incredible. Their teacher spoke to them primarily in Creole with a little English [early in] the school year. She's now speaking to them entirely in English and they recognize the words. She'll have them again next year as five-year-olds [for second year kindergarten]. They will be ready to go into our [regular education] grade one.[72]

Critics argue that TBE students lack the necessary preparation to participate in the mainstream economy. It is plainly unfair to deny LEP students the opportunity to master this country's language of public discourse and influence. Latino bilingual advocates often argue that Spanish-speaking children need very little English to function in certain urban neighborhoods or regions of the country. But, as Porter asks, should Spanish-speaking children aspire to no more than this?[73] While all languages and dialects may be equal in some abstract sense, Noel Epstein has noted, "they certainly are not equal in the political, economic or social sense, whether one is referring to English dialects among English-speakers, Spanish vernaculars among Spanish-speakers, or minority languages in the general society." Standard English is no better, only more useful, to master in this country. To deny children the right to learn the primary language of the land as quickly as possible is to deprive them of their civil rights.[74]

By removing bilingual children from the regular classroom and limiting their exposure to English, we have resegregated the schools by language, and, as a consequence, by race and ethnicity. Many LEP children are eventually placed in regular education, having never learned English adequately. They often end up failing and being referred to special education or to the lowest academic tracks. According to one middle school principal,

> Very few kids graduate from a bilingual program. I try to mainstream as many kids as possible, because if kids can master the written language and the spoken language skills to be able to be mainstreamed before they go into high school, they have a much, much better likelihood of graduating. Kids who go into high school in the bilingual program, es-

> pecially in the _____ School, are much more likely to drop out. There's a much greater emphasis on kids turning sixteen and getting jobs right away.[75]

Bilingual education advocates emphasize "empowerment" and "self-esteem." Yet truly empowering language-minority students would entail at least offering them the choice to intensively study the language that opens the door to a future in this country. In its current form, bilingual education actually reduces, rather than expands, access to future jobs and schooling.

Advocates of bilingual education claim its benefits extend well beyond English proficiency and include improved academic achievement, enhanced self-esteem, increased community involvement in education, and reduced dropout rates. But has TBE in fact accomplished these goals? The evidence is mixed. Alternative programs, were they permitted, might do as well or better. One indication that TBE does not improve academic achievement is that, as discussed above, students in TBE programs showed *less* gain in mathematics than students in structured immersion programs: Keith Baker and Adriana de Kanter concluded, in their review of the literature, that 14 percent of methodologically sound studies found TBE to be superior to submersion, 21 percent found it inferior, and 64 percent found no difference.[76] In comparison tests of TBE and English-only programs, students taught in Spanish were no more committed to school and learning, nor did LEP students taught in English manifest less self-pride or suffer from anomie or emotional distress.[77]

The Massachusetts Advocacy Center claims lower dropout rates for Boston students in bilingual classes than for their regular education peers of the same language group (1987–88 data).[78] A 1990-91 analysis by the BPS Department of Research and Development found that for four language groups—Chinese, French, Haitian, and Spanish—the annual dropout rates were lower than for students of the same language groups in regular education classes. But for all other language groups, the annual dropout rate was *higher* in bilingual programs than in regular education. Even for the four bilingual programs with lower rates, the difference was surprisingly small—less than four percentage points.[79]

Several facts should be noted. First, the rate is very high in both groups and the difference is slight. Second, TBE offers small class sizes with a mandated student-teacher ratio of 18 to 1. The privilege of small classes may alone account for these small gains. If the teachers' familiarity with the child's native language accounts for any remaining advantages of TBE, this benefit would accrue to

structured immersion and other alternative LEP programs as well. Third, the lower dropout rate compared to children of the same language group in regular education may in part testify to TBE's *in*effectiveness: TBE children who have inadequate English skills may drop out on rejoining the mainstream.

Charges have been made that bilingual education is an employment system and that politics sullies the hiring of bilingual teachers in Massachusetts. While TBE's stated goal is to teach students English and mainstream them with their English-proficient peers, Rosalie Porter and others have charged that TBE administrators often hire Spanish-speaking teachers from their own cultural group with little regard for the teachers' English-language skills. For a time, activist administrators, intent on teaching the native language and culture at the expense of English instruction, gained control of the tests for bilingual teachers. Teachers were rigorously tested on their knowledge of native history and culture, but their English skills were ignored. Non-Hispanics with strong Spanish skills were thus excluded in favor of Hispanics who were weak in English.[80] Boston's Department of Bilingual Education claims that teachers are now assessed in both English and their native language.[81]

The state's certification requirements for bilingual teachers are another example of the folly of the state's bilingual program.[82] State law requires that bilingual teachers have a thorough knowledge of native language and culture, but only "communicative skills" in English. Yet if research on academic achievement, and not employment politics, informed the law, these requirements would be exactly reversed. Three different studies have found no difference in the achievement gains of LEP children taught by monolingual (English only) and bilingual teachers.[83] More remarkable still, another study found an *inverse* correlation between teacher competency and student performance. As Rossell and Ross have observed, this is because teacher "competency" is largely a measure of the teacher's skills in the native language. By this standard, "incompetent" teachers would use more English in class than "competent" teachers.[84] One principal of a school with a popular Spanish bilingual program said,

> I think there needs to be a much greater emphasis on the English-language fluency of bilingual teachers before they enter the system. Otherwise you end up with bilingual teachers who can't speak English themselves, yet are responsible for the English proficiency of their kids. I also think, though, that there needs to be a lot more work done on cultivating respect for, and acceptance of, linguistic differences.[85]

If employment politics result in the district's hiring of teachers with poor English skills, how will their students obtain the language instruction they deserve? Once employed by the district, bilingual education teachers' interest in job security is inevitably at odds with the goal of rapidly moving students into the mainstream—an objective that teachers may never have subscribed to in the first place.

## MULTICULTURALISM AND THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

The controversy over bilingual education is part of a larger debate over "multiculturalism," "ethnocentrism," and "Afrocentrism" in city schools. Few educators question the need for schools to pay significant attention to non-Western cultures, histories, and languages. In an increasingly diverse American society and an interdependent world, there is surely need to broaden the account of our nation's past to include the contributions and perspectives of all the diverse peoples that continue to forge our American identity. Much has already been done in Boston and other large districts to establish a multicultural curriculum. Great gains have been made in the accurate and sensitive treatment of the nation's minorities in textbooks. California undertook a comprehensive revision of its statewide curriculum, developing entirely new multicultural textbooks. New York State has adopted what is probably the most radical and controversial new curriculum, which explicitly aims to cultivate self-esteem in African-Americans. Some critics charge that it blatantly sacrifices historical accuracy and denigrates the country's Western European traditions in advancing its Afrocentric perspective.

Any history is inevitably nuanced, but certainly only the extremist contends that only blacks can write the history of slavery, or Native Americans that of early America.[86] To throw over any attempt at critical distance or factual truth in the curriculum in favor of a new ethnic subjectivity would be to do children a great injustice. All knowledge is not socially constructed. Children must learn the difference between education and sentiment; "before they are taught to feel, they must be taught to know."[87] The most extreme proposals are unlikely to win broad support. Sociologist Nathan Glazer has done well to remind us that this is not the first time that public school curricula and texts have been revised to accommodate the perspectives of ethnic groups, nor likely the last.[88]

If the goal is both to improve the educational opportunities for all children and to defuse racial and ethnic tensions, the best hope is to offer parents choice—the choice to send their children to schools that cater to their priorities, yet further the public interest

embodied in the core curriculum. The district, the state, and the judiciary would do well to learn the lessons of the failed social engineering of the last decades. Despite tireless efforts of state and local officials, busing and other mandates have not improved educational quality for people of color. There is no need for policymakers to choose among multiculturalism, Afrocentrism, and assimilation. While each claims persuasively to be the best way of improving educational opportunity for students, no one approach is best for all. The best policy is for the district to let each new school determine its own mission and values, and to resist the urge to say what will and will not go.

Certainly diversity should be valued in the classroom but should children be discouraged from learning the ways of the mainstream culture? The schools have traditionally been the path for children of immigrants to a better life. How will the hardening of ethnic boundaries and the segregation of children by language group lead to a more equitable society, or provide access to improved economic and educational opportunities?

Students must understand the American disease of racism, but, as Arthur Schlesinger has argued, public education should seek to strengthen, not weaken, the bonds that hold our nation together.[90] He reminds us that the reason the United States has avoided the destructive forces of ethnic separatism and dissolution that are undermining the republics of the Soviet Union and elsewhere is that it has so successfully assimilated the cultures of immigrants into a new, and continually evolving, American culture. Schlesinger warns us of the "danger of a society divided into distinct and immutable ethnic and racial groups, each taught to cherish its own apartness from the rest."[91] Indeed, he writes, the alternative to integration is disintegration.[92] The balance between *pluribus* and *unum* must be maintained.

As long as education remains under direct political control, there is little likelihood that schools will be free to realize these distinct missions. This problem is most visible in the acrimonious debate over bilingual education programs. Activists have fought vigorously against alternative educational methods that rely less on the native language. Their primary goal has been to reinforce ethnic identity, but because they could not win public support for this objective, they have feared to argue their case on these terms. As Linda Chavez has noted,

> They fear—correctly, I believe—that public financial support for bilingual education would evaporate if it were presented as a way to preserve the language and culture of a

> single ethnic group. It is not even clear that Hispanic parents would support bilingual education on such terms. Instead, advocates try to sell the program with the claim that it is both effective in teaching Hispanic children English and necessary to allow Hispanic children to keep up in school as they learn the language. . . . No other ethnic group, including the 250,000 immigrants who come here from Asia each year, is clamoring for the right to have its language and culture maintained in this country at public expense. Although Hispanics have succeeded in doing so—for the time being—theirs will be a Pyrrhic victory if it is gained at the expense of their ultimate social and economic integration.[93]

Some Hispanic leaders have seen officially mandated bilingual education as an opportunity to institutionalize and legalize their political struggle. Dr. Antonia Darder of California Polytechnic University contends that bilingual programs have been bastardized by the mainstream's emphasis on rapid transition into English-only classes. Speaking at a conference titled "The Education of Latino Children," Darder said, "We should name the problem for what it is! It's racism! We must rethink educational priorities, advocate for our children to become themselves, not engage in the rhetoric of compromise or appeasement."[94] Her anger is understandable. What could be more embittering than professing allegiance to one primary goal—the rapid mastery of English and early exit from the program—but in truth struggling for another—the inheritance of the native language and culture, and the longest possible retention in the program? They are as fundamentally incompatible as assimilation and separatism.

But is not teaching native cultures a function far beyond the traditional mission of the public schools? It is also a function for which a centralized government program seems particularly ill-suited. Should government's responsibilities, through the agent of the local schools, be ceaselessly expanded as other institutions of society weaken? Peter Berger and Richard John Neuhaus were the first to suggest that the decline of "mediating structures" between the individual and the government, including families, neighborhoods, churches, fraternal and voluntary associations, and ethnic and racial subcultures, was in part the unintended result of the expansion of government programs. Many current policies have vigorously upheld both individual rights and government action to further social justice, but have either been blind or inhospitable to the many agencies that mediate between the two.[95] In the areas of health, welfare, and education, many social services were once pro-

vided by such agencies. Now they have been taken over by centrally managed government bureaucracies or transformed into quasi-governmental agencies through governmental licensing, certification, funding, and regulation.[96] Berger and Neuhaus contend that "public policy should protect and foster mediating structures," which they see as vital in a democratic society.[97]

If they are right, then the expansion of the public school's agenda is ill-advised. It may only weaken already disadvantaged communities. Organizations outside the schools can better fulfill the goals of maintaining the native language and celebrating the native culture. When local or state bureaucracies undertake to create multicultural materials, as Linda Chavez has argued, the history and customs of distinct peoples are homogenized. After all, it is only in the United States that "Hispanics" exist; the culture of Argentina is quite different from that of Mexico.[98]

There are many local community organizations offering classes in native language and culture: Hebrew schools, Chinese Saturday schools for instruction in Mandarin as well as dance and poetry, Lithuanian schools for language and culture, and Hispanic after school programs, to name but a few.[99] The promotion of ethnic solidarity is best left to members of the community, who are unconstrained by bureaucratic rules and the politics of society at large.

## CHOICE AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

There is ample doubt that Boston's current TBE program is meeting the requirements of the state's regulations, which state that TBE programs "shall be designed and conducted so that students enrolled in such programs can achieve skills in . . . English sufficient to perform ordinary classwork in English within the three-year transitional period."[100] One headmaster remarked,

> The goal is for kids to come in and stay a couple of years and then mainstream into regular education. They often don't. We have kids who remain in bilingual until they graduate. Some of these kids don't need it. The parents keep saying, "I want them there." . . . There is nothing I can do to get them out. . . . There needs to be more decision making on these issues at the school level.[101]

The Fifth Court of Appeals held in *Castaneda v. Pickard* (1981) that if a "school's program . . . fails, after being employed for a period of time sufficient to give the plan a legitimate trial, to produce results indicating that the language barriers confronting students are actually being overcome, that program may, at that point,

no longer constitute appropriate action as far as that school is concerned."[102] Charles Glenn, as early as 1985, called for choice in LEP programs to improve the educational opportunities of language minority children:

> What may be needed above all is *flexibility* in developing a strategy to meet the educational needs of linguistic minority students, a strategy which will certainly include transitional bilingual education but which will provide long-term language maintenance in the native language only for those whose parents choose that. . . . And we will need the flexibility to be able to discuss what is in the best interest of students . . . without making unqualified support for the present system of bilingual instruction the test of good faith. While it is true that some institutional interests may appear threatened by such discussion, in the long term bilingual education itself can only benefit from taking its place among the freely chosen educational options in a . . . system which respects diversity.[103]

And what about TBE's clients? The little-known fact is that an extraordinary number of children in TBE programs today are in the wrong program either because they are proficient in English or because their parents would prefer less native-language instruction or none at all. In examining the Ramirez report, Rossell found that less than *half* of the kindergarten students enrolled in the TBE and immersion programs were considered to have only a beginning knowledge of English.[104] Furthermore, 41 percent of the parents of the children in early-exit TBE programs either wanted their child taught mostly in English, with Spanish to clarify, or only in English, according to a parent survey administered by Ramirez et al.[105] A 1988 survey of Latino parents conducted by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) found that only 19 percent approved of the school teaching their child a non-English language if that meant less time for teaching English. Moreover, only 19 percent would accept less time for math, and only 20 percent would support less time for science, if that were the consequence of teaching another language.[106] A large majority of parents thought it was the family's responsibility, not the school's, to teach children their ancestors' history and traditions. Puerto Rican and Mexican parents were the most likely to place the responsibility with the school.[107] Because parents have different views on the matter, the ETS report urges flexibility in program offerings: "To the extent that schools attend to parent preferences in their program development, it would appear that this study

would call for some options in the types of special services available to language minority children."[108]

Not every LEP child will wish to maintain his native tongue, nor should lawmakers or the courts force him. As Rossell has argued, parents should be free to reach informed choices, recognizing that the school day is finite and tradeoffs must be made between mastery of English, maintenance of the native language, instruction in other subject matter, and education in native culture. The consumers of education would be protected: Each program's goals and the means used to obtain them would be clearly stated, and program outcomes fully disclosed.

With 145 different language groups in the nation's schools, it is impossible for one program to satisfy everyone's needs.[109] Choice can resolve the policy problem that no amount of further research or political debate can.

Before we can judge a program's effectiveness, we must first ask, effective at what? After all, a program's effectiveness will be greatly influenced by the degree to which it is driven by a singular mission to which its participants subscribe. As we have seen, there is reason to believe that subscription to the current programs, in the absence of choice, is low. Transitional bilingual education programs may have been unusually effective in initial sites where they were carried out by educators who believed in the program they had developed. However, research has shown that the primary reason later sites rarely replicate a project's initial success is the lack of spirited ownership on the part of participants. Choice, by replacing rule making with commitment, can greatly improve the odds of success.

Choice will also free educators to state their program's priorities clearly; real and stated missions will be one and the same. Is the goal of their TBE program truly transition or is it maintenance of the native language? Is the native language used to keep children from falling behind in other subjects or to create functional bilinguals? Is self-esteem to stem primarily from ethnic validation or from academic accomplishment? Is the greater imperative to reinforce the home culture or to prepare the student for new opportunities outside of it? As Rossell has written,

> Parents . . . should be told the truth about bilingual education and its goals. A bilingual maintenance program is offered not because it is the best way to learn English, the objective of the federal and state legislation, but because it is a good way to become bilingual, and there are parents who want their child to be bilingual. . . . The case for bilingual education should not have to rest on its effectiveness

> in teaching English, but on its effectiveness in making children bilingual. The bilingual advocates have confused these two goals.[110]

Wherever choice is established, programs will gain character and clarity. Program designs that have been compromised would be purified, as Porter has suggested. "Progressive" educators will bring language into the classroom and emphasize an ethnocentric curriculum. Activities and lessons will stress the child's background, folklore, and emotional response. "Pragmatists" will concentrate on making the mainstream language and culture accessible to the underprivileged and stress literacy and demanding subject matter. Still others will contend that the best of both approaches can be combined.[111] In the end, the choice will be made by parents, and will be a deeply personal one.

## LEP EDUCATION IN BOSTON UNDER CHOICE

If educators could launch distinctive schools in Boston and parents could choose from among them, parents of LEP students could opt for transitional bilingual education schools, structured immersion schools, or two-way bilingual schools. Other schools might design still different pedagogies. Schools would be required to provide children with the English skills they need to function in American society. This would be accomplished through the core curriculum. All schools would participate in assessments of English proficiency. The non-English language curricula would be regarded as curricular extensions, just like specialty schools' music, art, health care, business, and other programs.

Funding for the new schools would be by capitation, just as for the other entrepreneurial schools, but with a per-student supplement, since LEP students are more costly to educate. Schools offering LEP programs could admit regular education students, but at the usual rate.

To permit the new entrepreneurial schools to establish a diversity of LEP programs, the state must first amend the current bilingual education law, Chapter 71A. The law's guarantee of special assistance to language minority students should be sustained. But rather than mandate a particular instructional model, the law should give districts the flexibility to design programs that best meet the needs of their community. The federal government has already recognized the need for such flexibility: The Bilingual Education Act of 1988 directs up to one-quarter of federal funding to TBE alternatives.[112]

Were new schools free to offer such alternatives, and parents free to choose relatively short-duration (and thus less expensive) programs, the district would realize substantial savings that would then be available to strengthen regular education. According to one estimate, if all students exited after three years of TBE classes, $760,000 could be saved annually.[113] If children who are stronger in English than in their native language were enrolled in the regular classroom, the savings would be greater still. Boston's language minority parents are ready to make such choices. As one principal explained,

> Our Hispanic students . . . have shown incredible gains as a result of having been in the McCormack School's two-way mainstream program. That's what you want: You want to have people zealously trying to get their kids in. On the other hand, with that popularity comes real responsibility. I'd like to be able to say that the school department is always supportive of this success. That has not been the case.[114]

Perhaps no program better exemplifies the failure of political control of urban education in Boston—and more vividly reveals the gains in both student achievement and teacher satisfaction that true school choice would deliver. No program better underscores why Boston's staff—teachers and administrators alike—need the freedom to come together "by choice, not assignment" to teach the way they believe is right.

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50. Hakuta, *Mirror of Language*, 224.
51. Based on average growth from 1983 through 1992. See table 9-1.
52. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 66. Keith Baker and Christine Rossell, "An Implementation Problem: Specifying the Target Group for Bilingual Education," *Educational Policy*, 1 (2 [1987]): 263.
53. Ibid., 67. See also *Review of Federal Bilingual Education Programs in Texas* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Education, 1982), 21; R. Berdan, A. So, and A. Sanchez, *Language Among the Cherokee, Patterns of Language Use in Northeastern Oklahoma* (Los Alamitos, Calif.: National Center for Bilingual Research, 1982) Part I preliminary report; H. Duly and M. Burt, "The Relative Proficiency of Limited English Proficient Students," in *Georgetown University Roundtable on Language and Linguistics*, ed. J. Alatis (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1980).
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55. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 67.
56. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 71A (Section 3).
57. Boston Public School Profiles, 1990–91. Dropouts, as defined in the source, are those students who "leave after achieving age 16, marry, go into the military, or become employed." The figure does not include students who are registered but never report.
58. Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563, (1974).
59. Charles Glenn, "Equity and Bilingual Education," unpublished paper, 30 June 1985, 11.
60. Ibid., 12, 14.
61. Ibid., 18.
62. Ibid.
63. Ernest J. Mazzone, "Briefing Paper on Appropriate Education Programs for Limited English Proficient Students including those for Low Incidence Counts Under Twenty in a Language Classification," Bureau for Transitional Bilingual Education, Massachusetts Department of Education, 23 April 1985.
64. Glenn, "Equity and Bilingual Education," 22–23.
65. For a discussion of contextualized and decontextualized language see Cummins, *Empowering Minority Students*, 21–34.
66. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 34.
67. Interview with headmaster, August 1991.
68. Interview with principal, August 1991.
69. Sonia Nieto, respondent at conference on the Policy Agenda in Massachusetts: The Education of Latino Children, Mauricio Gaston Institute, Boston, 26 October 1990.

70. Bilingual Education Department, Boston Public Schools, 25 February 1992.
71. Interview with headmaster, August 1991.
72. Interview with principal, August 1991.
73. Interview with principal, July 1991.
74. Porter, *Forked Tongue,* 9.
75. Porter, *Forked Tongue,* 10–11.
76. Interview with principal, August 1991.
77. Rossell, "The Effectiveness of Educational Alternatives," 113. See Keith A. Baker and Adriana A. de Kanter, *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature,* Technical Analysis Report Series, U.S. Department of Education, 1981.
78. Ibid., 72–75.
79. *Locked In/Locked Out: Tracking and Placement Practices in Boston Public Schools,* Massachusetts Advocacy Center, Boston, March 1990, 78–79.
80. Annual dropout rate by Bilingual Program Status and First Language (Grades 9–12, 1990–91), Department of Resource and Development; Bilingual Education Department, Boston Public Schools, 25 February 1992.
81. Porter, *Forked Tongue,* 25–28.
82. When the department's management was asked what criteria were used in the evaluation of prospective TBE teachers, the department responded in writing: "The methods of assessment are a structured interview in both languages and a writing sample that response [sic] to situations in both languages. The oral interview is rated by a group consensus. If [sic] is expected that on [sic] applicant has an intermediate level of the second language. The writing sample is rated in [sic] a scale of 0 to 5 with a cutoff score of 3." Department of Bilingual Education, Boston Public Schools, 25 February 1992.
83. *Transitional Bilingual Education Act,* 1976.
84. Rossell and Ross, "The Social Science Evidence," 410–411. See J. Curtis, "Identification of Exemplary Teachers of LEP Students," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 1984; G. Ligon et al., ESAA Bilingual/Bicultural Project, 1973–74 Evaluation Report, Austin Independent School District, Austin, Texas.
85. Rossell and Ross, "The Social Science Evidence," 410. See Moore and Parr, "Models of Bilingual Education: Comparisons of Effectiveness," *Elementary School Journal* 79 (1978): 93.
86. Interview with principal, August 1991.
87. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: Norton, 1992), 105.
88. "Mr. Sobol's Planet," editorial, *New Republic,* 15 and 22 July 1991, 6.

89. Nathan Glazer, "In Defense of Multiculturalism," *New Republic*, 2 September 1991.
90. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Toward a Divisive Diversity," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 June 1991.
91. Ibid.
92. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, 18.
93. Chavez, *Out of the Barrio*, 37–38.
94. Antonia Darder, respondent at conference on the Policy Agenda in Massachusetts: The Education of Latino Children, Mauricio Gaston Institute, 26 October 1990.
95. Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, *To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy, 1977), 1–8.
96. Ibid., 28.
97. Ibid., 6.
98. Chavez, *Out of the Barrio*, 37–38.
99. Interestingly, local Hispanic organizations primarily offer after school remedial programs in English and general tutoring, not classes in the native language and culture.
100. Interview with headmaster, August 1991.
101. *Transitional Bilingual Education Act*, 1976.
102. Castaneda v. Pickard, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).
103. Glenn, "Equity and Bilingual Education," 29. Emphasis in original.
104. Rossell, *Nothing Matters?* 25. See Ramirez et al., *Longitudinal Study*, 1:388.
105. Ibid. See Ramirez et al., *Longitudinal Study*, 1:364.
106. Joan Baratz-Snowden, Donald A. Rock, Judith Pollack, and Gita Z. Wilder, "Parent Preference Study," Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988, 54.
107. Ibid.
108. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 124.
109. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 5.
110. Rossell, "The Effectiveness of Educational Alternatives," 108–109.
111. Porter, *Forked Tongue*, 180–181.
112. Ibid., 224.
113. *The Boston Public Schools: An Assessment of Governance, Operations, and Finance*, Northeastern University, Boston, 1991, 2:28.
114. Robert Martin, principal, McCormack School, interview, 27 August 1991.

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